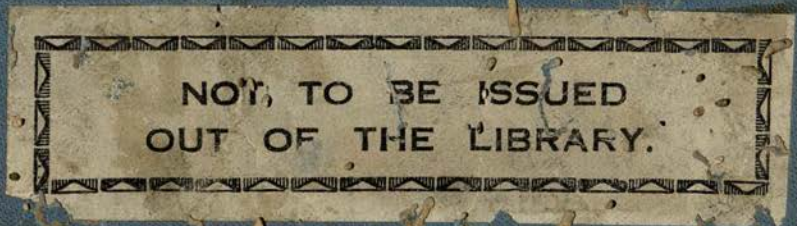
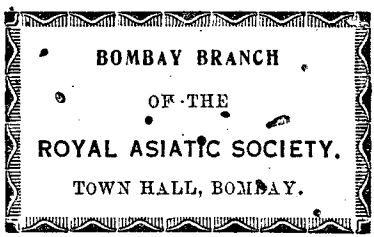
00037861


NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.



Digitized with financial assistance from
Hermès India
a project facilitated by the Rotary Club of Bombay
on 10 August, 2018

THE

COURTS AND CABINETS

EUROPE

DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

FREDERICK THE GREAT

AND

HIS TIMES.

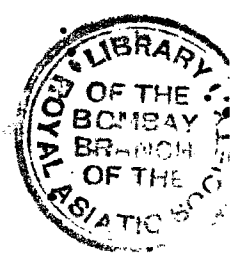
EDITED,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY THOMAS CAMPBELL, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF

"THE PLEASURES OF HOPE."



VOL. II.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

GREAT MARLBOROUGH-STREET.

1842.

LONDON:
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XIV.

PAGE

Campaign on the Rhine.—The Prince Royal and the King join the Army of the Empire.—Prince Eugene.—Intrepidity of the Prince-Royal.—Dangerous illness of the King.—Characteristic Anecdote.—Description of Rheinsberg, the new residence of the Prince.—His Society there.—His Pursuits.—His Correspondence with Voltaire.—His projected Edition of the Henriade.—His fondness of religious topics.—His philosophical studies.—His taste in Music.—Anecdote of Pepusch.—Occupations at Rheinsberg.—Jovial Party.—Order of Bayard.—Early Rising.—Frederick's Attentions to his Father.—Means used by him to keep the King in good humour.—Journey to the Netherlands.—The Prince becomes a Freemason.—His Pecuniary Embarrassments.—He obtains assistance from Russia.—Whim in spelling his Name.—Journey to Prussia.—Improvements effected by the King in Lithuania.—Stud of Trakehnen.—Last Illness of Frederick William. His increasing fondness for his Son.—His Death.—His Character.—His Family.

CHAPTER XV.

The new Queen and the Queen-Mother.—Disappointed Expectations.—Proceedings of Frederick II. on his accession.—Directions to his Ministers and to the provincial Chambers.—Famine.—Opening of the Granaries to the Poor.—Baron Pöllnitz.—Funeral of the late King.—The Potsdam Grenadiers broken up.—Increase of the Army.—Order of Merit instituted.—Professor Wolff recalled.—Occupations of the King.—He receives Homage in Prussia; and in Berlin.—His decision in political Matters.—Remonstrance to the Elector of Mentz.—Quarrel with the Bishop of Liege.—The King visits Strasburg incognito.—Proceeds to Westphalia.—His first interview with Voltaire.—He returns to Berlin, and goes to Rheinsberg.—Death of the Emperor, Charles VI.—Preparations for War. . . . 53

CHAPTER XVI.

The Emperor Charles VI. and the Pragmatic Sanction.—Claims of Prussia to territories in Silesia.—Bad Faith of Austria towards the Sovereigns of Brandenburg.—Situation of Maria Theresa.—Political State of Europe.—Treaty with Russia.—Marquis di Botta.—Terms offered by Frederick to the Queen of Hungary.—His Address to his Officers.—Ball in Berlin.—The King joins the Army and enters Silesia.—Breslau surrenders to him.—Siege of Neisse.—Return of the King

PAGE

to Berlin.—Frederick allies himself with France and Sweden. —He rejoins the Army in Silesia; Narrowly escapes being taken prisoner.—Operations of Neipperg and the Austrians. —Reduction of Glogau.—Battle of Mollwitz.—A Reconnaissance.—The Tall Gray—Misfortunes of Maupertuis . 91

CHAPTER XVII.

Reduction of Brieg.—Frederick encamps near Strehlen.—He concludes a Treaty with France and Bavaria.—Conspiracy for giving up Breslau to the Austrians.—Prussian Troops take possession of the City.—Camp at Strehlen.—Overtures made on the part of Austria by Mr. Robinson, the English ambassador at Vienna; rejected by the King.—The King of Poland joins the Coalition against Austria.—Proposals for a separate Peace with Prussia accepted by Frederick.—Condition of Secrecy violated by Austria.—The People of Silesia take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of Prussia.—He returns to Berlin.—Improvement of the Prussian Cavalry. —The King goes to Dresden.—Augustus III.—Count Brühl. —Frederick's Interview with the King of Poland.—Surrender of Glatz.—The Virgin Mary's new Gown.—Incursion of the Prussians into Lower Austria.—Siege of Brünn.—Frederick retires into Bohemia and encamps.—Prince Charles of Lorraine.—Battle of Chotusitz.—The King concludes a separate Peace with Austria.—Secret Negociations with the French . 126

CHAPTER XVIII.

Political Importance acquired by the King.—His Attention to Silesia.—Mandate against the oppressive conduct of Civil Officers.—Projected Reform of Justice.—The new Opera House in Berlin.—Potier, the Ballet-master.—Encouragement given by the King to Arts, Manufactures, and Domestic Industry.—Canals.—Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres. —Fortresses in Silesia repaired and strengthened.—Improvement of the Cavalry.—Increase of the Army.—Military Advantages gained by the Austrians.—They drive the French out of Bohemia and overrun Bavaria.—George II. takes the field to assist the Queen of Hungary.—Battle of Dettingen.— Destitute condition of the new Emperor Charles.—Treaty of Worms between England, Holland, and Austria.—Mission of Voltaire to the King of Prussia.—His Account of the King's Habits and Occupations.—Union of Frankfurt between Prussia, Sweden, and Hesse Cassel, in support of Charles VII.— East Friesland incorporated with Prussia . . . 153

CHAPTER XIX.

Renewal of War.—March of the Prussian Army to Bohemia. —Siege of Prague.—Exploit of David Kraul.—Surrender of Prague.—Arrival of Prince Charles of Lorraine in Bohemia. —Retreat of the Prussians for want of provisions.—Passage of the Elbe by the Austrians.—Gallant Action of Zieten and Wedell.—The King evacuates Bohemia.—General Einsiedel, commandant of Prague; his disgrace and dismissal.—

PAGE

Retreat of the Prussians to Silesia.—The King goes to Berlin to obtain pecuniary Resources.—Occurrences in the royal family of Prussia.—Circumstances attending the Marriage of the Princess Ulrica.—The Austrian Army enters Silesia; but is obliged to leave it again.—The Quadruple Alliance.—Death of the Emperor Charles VII.—Successes of Winterfeld.—Perilous enterprise executed by Zieten.—Battle of Hohenfriedberg.—General Gessler and the Regiment of Bayreuth.—The Austrian General Berlichingen and the Prussian Hussar.—Victory of the French at Fontenoy.—Frederick's Rebuke of bloodthirsty Peasants.—Encampment of the hostile Armies in Bohemia.—Capture of the Fortress of Kosel.—The King concludes a Treaty with England.—Francis Grand-Duke of Tuscany elected Emperor.—Battle of Sorr.—Return of the King to Berlin. 176

CHAPTER XX.

Death of Jordan and Keyserling.—Brühl's Plan for the Invasion of the Prussian Dominions.—Threats of Russia.—The King rejoins the Army in Silesia.—Entrance of the Saxon and Austrian Armies into Lusatia.—Frederick marches to meet them.—Action at Katholisch-Hennersdorf.—Retreat of the Austrians to Bohemia.—The Prince of Anhalt enters Saxony, takes Leipzig, and marches to Dresden.—Flight of the King of Poland to Prague.—Battle of Kesselsdorf.—The Old Dessauer and his Son, Prince Maurice.—Frederick takes Dresden.—Peace concluded on the basis of the Hanoverian Convention.—Reception of the King in Berlin.—His last Interview with Duhan du Jandun.—He recruits his Army with the Prisoners of War.—Composition and Spirit of the Prussian Army in the Silesian Wars.—Pillage.—Desertion.—Officers.—Frederick's Efforts for their Improvement.—General Gessler.—Lieutenant-colonel Schütz; his cruelty.—Punishment of Plunder.—Margrave Henry of Schwedt; his Cowardice.—Execution of Marauders.—Plunder of Lindenau.—State of the Austrian Army 217

CHAPTER XXI.

Frederick's Person.—He builds himself the Palace of Sans Souci.—Anecdotes relative to it.—Associates of the King at this time.—Marquis d'Argens.—Algarotti.—The Abbé Bastiani.—Count Rothenburg.—Maupertuis.—De la Metrie.—Field-marshal Keith.—His brother, Lord Marischal.—Severity with which the King treated his Friends 256

CHAPTER XXII.

Royal Family of Prussia.—The Queen-mother.—The Queen.—The Margravine of Bayreuth.—Her Daughter, the Duchess of Wirtemberg.—Prince Augustus William.—Princes Henry and Ferdinand.—Princess Sophia, margravine of Schwedt.—Margrave Frederick William.—Ulrica, queen of Sweden.—Charlotte, duchess of Brunswick.—Frederick's personal Habits.—His Cabinet Councillors; Eichel, Galster, Stellten—Dinner.—Mode of despatching Business.—Literary em-

PAGE

ployments.—Concerts.—Quantz.—Graun.—Fasch.—Supper.—Exercise abroad.—Annual Tours of inspection.—The King's Dress.—His Libraries.—His attachment to Dogs . . 287

CHAPTER XXIII.

Frederick's pressing Invitation to Voltaire.—Bacchard d'Arnaud.—Voltaire removes to Prussia.—His Occupations.—Origin of the Misunderstandings between him and the King.—His Lawsuit with Hirsch, the Jew.—His Quarrels with d'Argens, d'Arnaud, and Maupertuis.—His Satirical Publication against the latter.—Anger of Frederick.—Disrespect shown by Voltaire.—His Libel on Maupertuis publicly burnt.—His submissions to the King.—His Departure from Berlin.—His revengeful Spirit.—He is arrested at Frankfurt.—His own account of what befel him there.—Chevalier Masson.—Baron Trenk; his confinement at Glatz and Magdeburg.—The King takes a Journey to East Friesland and Holland.—Anecdotes of this Journey.—Colonel Balbi . 327

CHAPTER XXIV.

Attention of the King to the internal prosperity of his Country.—His encouragement of Agriculture, Colonisation, and the improvement of the Breeds of Cattle.—Diffusion of the Potato.—Frederick's Influence on Horticulture.—State of Manufactures and Industry in Prussia.—Means employed by the King to improve them.—System of Prohibitions in Trade.—Inland Navigation.—Embden declared a free Port.—Commercial Companies established there.—Frederick's Patronage of the Fine Arts.—The Italian Opera.—Performers.—Barberina.—Royal Picture Gallery.—Portraits of the King.—Reform of the Administration of Justice.—The Codex Fridericianus.—Its spirit.—The Chancellor Cocceji. The Halsgericht.—Case of Kaatz.—Case of Murder which is alleged to have occasioned the Abolition of Torture in Prussia . . . . . .

CHAPTER XXV.

Hostile Demonstrations of Austria.—Frederick's Contempt for the Marquise de Pompadour and Louis XV.—Personal Antipathy of Elisabeth, empress of Russia, to the King.—Political State of Europe.—The Hostilities in North America between England and France, the true Origin of the Seven Years' War.—Frederick concludes a Treaty of Alliance with England.—Treaty between France and Austria.—Preparations of Austria and Russia for war against Frederick.—He obtains secret information of all the Designs of his Enemies.—His Interviews with Sir Andrew Mitchell, the new English Ambassador.—Evasive Replies of Maria Theresa to the King's demand of explanations.—Frederick's Reconciliation with Field-marshal Schwerin; and with General Zieten.—In a conference with Schwerin, and Generals Winterfeld and Retzow, he communicates his determination to open the Campaign forthwith.—Sir Andrew Mitchell; his Character 405

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

FREDERICK THE GREAT.

CHAPTER XIV.

Campaign on the Rhine.—The Prince-Royal and the King join the Army of the Empire.—Prince Eugene.—Intrepidity of the Prince-Royal.—Dangerous illness of the King.—Characteristic Anecdote.—Description of Rheinsberg, the new residence of the Prince.—His Society there.—His Pursuits.—His Correspondence with Voltaire.—His projected Edition of the Henriade.—His fondness of religious topics.—His philosophical studies.—His taste in Music.—Anecdote of Pepusch.—Occupations at Rheinsberg.—Jovial Party.—Order of Bayard.—Early Rising.—Frederick's Attentions to his Father.—Means used by him to keep the King in good humour.—Journey to the Netherlands.—The Prince becomes a Freemason.—His Pecuniary Embarrassments.—He obtains assistance from Russia.—Whim in spelling his Name.—Journey to Prussia.—Improvements effected by the King in Lithuania.—Stud of Trakehnen.—Last Illness of Frederick William.—His increasing fondness for his Son.—His Death.—His Character.—His Family.

In 1734, Frederick's wish to see something of active military service was gratified. A competition for the crown of Poland involved Europe in war. Stanislaus Lesczinski, the choice of the Polish nation, was supported by France, as being

the father-in-law of Louis XV., while the cause of Augustus II. of Saxony was espoused by Austria and Russia. Stanislaus, obliged to yield to the overwhelming force of the latter power, retired to Danzig, which was invested by the Russians. Escaping from the city in the disguise of a drover, he took refuge at Marienwerder, in the Prussian dominions. The empress of Russia set a price of 100,000 rubles on his head, and, when she heard that the king of Prussia had given him an hospitable reception, she threatened to send an armed force to seize him. Undaunted by these menaces, the king assigned to Stanislaus a residence suitable to his rank in the palace at Königsberg, and a monthly pension of three hundred dollars. Louis XV. sent to Frederick William a gold sword richly set with diamonds, as an acknowledgment for his friendly reception of his father-in-law, but he declined the present.

But though Frederick William manifested so warm a friendship for the dethroned monarch, he sided with the emperor in the quarrel, and at his call furnished his contingent of 10,000 men to the army of the empire, which took the field under the renowned veteran prince Eugene, to dispossess the French of Lorraine and Bar which they had seized. The king not only sent his son to participate in the operations of the campaign, but went himself as a volunteer to the army engaged in the siege of Philippsburg, which had been invested ever since the 23d of May by the French under the duke

of Berwic, and was now closely besieged. The prince arrived at the principal camp at Wiesenthal, a cannon-shot from the French entrenchments, on the 7th of July. The king had placed about him generals von der Schulenburg and Kleist, in quality of advisers, and the instructions which he gave the prince on this occasion were very remarkable. They are drawn up entirely in the nervous spirit of Frederick William, and refer to the minutest details as well as to the most important matters; from the shoes of the soldier to the military combinations of prince Eugene, morality, economy—nothing is omitted. For the troops too the king had given admirable regulations; and the Prussian army was advantageously distinguished by its whole composition from that of the Austrians.

When Frederick, on his arrival, waited upon the veteran commander who had once filled the world with his renown, but who now exhibited only a faint glimmer of his former glory, he told him that he was come to beg permission to see how a hero gathered laurels. Eugene was not at a loss for a flattering reply. He expressed his regret that he had not before enjoyed the good fortune to have the prince-royal about him, as he should then have had opportunities for showing him many things which are useful for a general and might be applied with advantage in similar circumstances; "for," added he prophetically, "everything about you tells me that you will some day be a great commander." During their first dinner, the French kept up a violent

cannonade upon the allies, and the prince-royal was not a little delighted to hear a toast which he gave accompanied by the thunder of the enemy's artillery.

Eugene was strongly prepossessed in favour of his young pupil; his understanding, his sagacity, and his martial spirit, surprised and delighted him. Two days after Frederick's arrival, the veteran commander, accompanied by the duke of Wirtemberg, returned his visit and staid a considerable time in his tent. At parting, Eugene went first and the duke followed. Frederick, who was previously acquainted with the latter, embraced him, in the foreign fashion. Eugene turned round sharply, "Will not your royal highness kiss my old cheek too?" said he. Frederick of course complied, highly flattered by the condescension of the aged warrior, who further expressed his friendship for the prince by making him a present of four tall and very handsome recruits.

Frederick, though so young a soldier, was invited to every council of war, and he strove by his attention to all military matters to prove himself worthy of the distinction with which he was treated. He shared in all the fatigues of the camp, and assiduously studied the treatment of soldiers in the field. Every day, while the siege lasted, he rode along the lines, and wherever any thing of importance was going forward there he was sure to be found. One day, in particular, he had an opportunity for displaying that cool courage, for which in after years he became so conspicuous.

He had gone attended by a considerable number of officers, to reconnoitre the lines of Philippsburg. Returning through a wood, not so thick as to intercept the view, the cannon of the lines accompanied his progress, and shattered several trees close to him, without making him hasten his horse's pace, or causing the hand that held the bridle to exhibit the slightest nervousness. On the contrary, those about him remarked that he continued talking with unruffled composure to the officers who accompanied him, and who admired his courage amidst a danger with which he had not yet had opportunity to become familiar. On the 13th of July, when the king of Prussia himself arrived at the camp, he heartily rejoiced at the testimonials which he received of his son's gallant conduct.

The campaign was not productive of battles and victories. Philippsburg was taken on the 18th of July by marshal d'Asfeld (the successor of marshal Berwic, who had been killed in the trenches) and that too before the face of prince Eugene who made no attempt for its relief. "But here," says Frederick himself, in his Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, "was only the shadow of the great Eugene. He had survived himself and was afraid of exposing his reputation, so solidly established, to the risk of an eighteenth battle. A bold young man would have attacked the French entrenchments, which were scarcely marked out when the army arrived at Wiesenthal. The French troops were posted so near Philippsburg that their cavalry

had not room to draw up between the town and the camp without suffering much from our cannonade. It had but one bridge of communication upon the Rhine, and, had their entrenchments been taken, the whole French army, having no retreat, must infallibly have perished: but the destinies of empires decreed otherwise. "The French took Philippsburg before the face of Prince Eugene, without molestation from any quarter." This event put an end to all prospect of further laurels or military experience. Frederick then paid a visit to the French camp, and there gained an amiable companion in the chevalier de Chazot, and also made the acquaintance of the French major de Rothenburg.

It was by no means an unimportant circumstance that Frederick found in the Austrian camp an abundant theme for sarcasm. On his return he often spoke with contempt of the boasting and unsoldierly appearance of the imperial musqueteers and cavalry. The Austrians themselves doubt whether the battle of Molwitz would ever have been fought, if Frederick had not made the campaign on the Upper Rhine. He impressed the imperialists with a more favourable opinion of himself. Amidst a shower of balls, they found him, as in the social circle, cheerful, amusing, cool, and resolute. Every one could foresee that he was destined to seek and to perform glorious achievements.

From this campaign date the earliest of Frederick's poetical compositions that we are acquainted with. They show that war was repugnant to the

sensible heart of the poet, but not unwelcome to his desire of glory.

The king remained but a few weeks with the army, and, as the affairs of Poland required his attention and urgent business called for his presence at home, he quitted it in the beginning of August, and set out on his return by Cleves and Wesel. By the way, he was taken very ill at a country-seat of general Ginkel's in Guelders, so that he had great difficulty to reach his chateau of Moyland near Cleves. He arrived in September at Potsdam, but he was obliged to keep his bed the whole winter and his life was in great danger. Baron Seckendorf, a nephew of the count's, who occupied the place of the latter at the court of Berlin, did not fail to make a minute report to his uncle of the daily state of his majesty. He had bribed a black servant, who gave him information of all that passed in the royal chamber. Many of the particulars inserted in this diary are curious and characteristic:—

"September 20. The negro gives me a faithful report of the state of the king's health. The king is continually in bed, rather sitting than lying, and there are always two or three beds ready to remove him from one to the other: he tried to smoke twice but could not on account of the shortness of his breath. He is much swollen. Soon after his arrival in Potsdam he had himself moved in his rolling-chair to the window two or three times, but not since. What little sleep he gets is

uneasy; he writes only the most pressing things in the bed, and has the three councillors of war called to him. He will not take physic; wishes for death rather than to live thus. Generals Buddenbrock and Waldow have, by his desire smoked several times by the king's bed.

" September 22. The king begins to get better. He has ordered two hundred grenadiers to be sent into his chamber.

" September 30. Yesterday, for half an hour, the king could not fetch his breath. He has himself rolled about continually in the room and cries: 'Air! air!'

" October 2. The king will not die just yet; but he can scarcely live over Christmas. He dresses himself, argues with the doctors, is impatient, wishes his illness not to be talked of, drinks nothing but beer, takes physic, writes on the bed.

" October 5. The negro tells me that the king is better, drinks a great deal of water-gruel, and says to him, 'Only pray diligently, I shall not die yet.'

" October 12. Return of the prince-royal to Potsdam; affectionate reception.

" October 21. Things look ill at Potsdam: the other leg has burst and discharged above two quarts of water.

" The prince-royal is truly afflicted at the state of the king, and has cried his eyes out of his head. He would have staid at Potsdam, but the king forced him to go. He is to be back next Sunday afternoon. The prince-royal said: 'Provided that

the king would let me live as I please, I would give an arm to lengthen his life twenty years!' The king always calls him 'Fritzchen.' But Fritzchen knows nothing of business. The king knows it and tells him so to his face. 'If you do not manage properly, and everything gets into confusion, I will laugh at you in my grave.'

"October 27. When the king is rolled about rather fast in his chair, the water may be heard swashing in his body. The king flies into a passion at everything, has beaten the pages, so that it would be no wonder if he were to have an attack of apoplexy.

"October 29. The king beats the huntsmen because they have stolen wood. The crisis seems to be past."

The memoirs of the princess of Bayreuth furnish us with some further particulars of this illness:— "The king was yet very ill with the dropsy. He was in great pain; and his legs burst: he was obliged to put them in buckets to catch the water that ran from them. As his malady increased rapidly, he resolved that the marriage of my sister Sophia with the margrave of Schwedt should take place. The nuptial ceremony was performed on the 7th of January by his bed-side. A swelling in one of his legs led the physicians to conclude that an abscess had formed there, and they resolved to make an incision. The operation was long and painful. The king endured it with heroic firmness, and called for a mirror to enable him the better to

see what the surgeons were doing. My brother wrote to me every post that he could not survive twenty-four hours, but he was mistaken; owing to the quantity of water drawn from him, and the skill of the medical men, he completely recovered. This cure was regarded as a miracle."

A curious scene, at once characteristic of the violence of the king's temper and his strong religious feeling, occurred during this illness. Being too unwell to read the usual prayers himself, he one evening desired his valet de chambre to read them to him. His attendant thinking it disrespectful to *thou* a king, on coming to the words "The Lord bless thee," &c. changed the expression to "The Lord bless you." "It is not so; read it again," cried the exasperated monarch, at the same time throwing something at the reader's head. The poor fellow could not conceive what blunder he had committed, and again read: "The Lord bless *you.*" The king was furious. Having nothing else at hand, he snatched off his nightcap and flung it in the man's face, crying out: "It is not so, I tell you, read it again." The valet more terrified than ever repeated in a low supplicating tone: "The Lord bless *you.*" "Bless *thee*, rogue," vociferated the king, "bless *thee!* Don't you know, fellow, that in the eyes of God I am only a miserable rascal like yourself?"

The prince, on his return from the army, was obliged by the illness of his father to take upon himself a portion of the public business. He also

supplied the place of his father in giving away his sister Sophia at her marriage with the margrave Frederick of Schwedt. In June, 1735, he was promoted to be major-general, the highest rank in the army that he attained during his father's life-time. In September he went to Prussia, to investigate the military and financial matters in Königsberg, and to inspect the domains, as the king wished for precise information that might enable him to judge of the necessity for the remission of 175,000 dollars, solicited by the Prussian chamber. At Cüstrin, the scene of his former humiliation, he was received with a triple salute from all the guns in the fortress; and at Königsberg he made the personal acquaintance of king Stanislaus, who resided in the palace, and as we have seen, had been treated by Frederick William with great friendship.

Stanislaus soon afterwards went to Berlin, and to none of his illustrious visiters did the Prussian monarch manifest such cordial attachment as to this unfortunate prince, whom, though travelling incognito as Count Blamont, he treated with royal distinction. He made him a present of a carriage and a team of very fine horses. Stanislaus was an inveterate smoker, and passed every evening of his stay in Berlin with Frederick William's smoking party, where the two kings puffed one against the other, their usual stint being from thirty to thirty-two pipes a piece.

Austria showed but little gratitude to Frederick William for the aid that he had recently afforded.

On the contrary she made fresh demands founded on the duties of the king as a member of the empire. Misjudging the uprightness of his sentiments, she insisted on his delivering up Stanislaus Leszczinski, to whom he had given an hospitable reception. Frederick William refused both. As little was he to be won by the seductive overtures of France, which, on account of his friendship for Stanislaus, sought to gain him over to her side. At length, the Austrian court, conceiving that it could dispense with the aid of Prussia, abandoned him entirely. It entered into negociations for peace with France, which gained king Stanislaus the duchy of Lorraine then belonging to the German empire, but which after his death was to devolve to France; while the duke of Lorraine was to be indemnified by the possession of Tuscany. On the other hand France agreed to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. For this ignominious termination of the war the German empire was duly thankful. As for Frederick William he was not even apprized of the negociations; and still less was any recompense for the sacrifices which he had made ever thought of. Nay the court of Vienna showed such a disregard of the laws of decorum, as not even to communicate to him the marriage of the emperor's eldest daughter Maria Theresa with the duke of Lorraine, which took place at the beginning of 1736. Frederick William had no further reason for dissembling his long smothered animosity against Austria. He expressed himself in the most

sarcastic terms concerning the conduct of the imperial court; and once, when the conversation turned upon that subject, he pointed to the prince-royal, and in the feeling of his own increasing infirmity and, with a prophetic presentiment of his son's greatness, exclaimed: "Here is one who will avenge me!"

The duplicity of the court of Vienna was still more strikingly displayed before the king's death; for in 1739 Austria concluded a treaty with France, by virtue of which the rights to Juliers and Berg claimed by Frederick William and assured to him by former treaties were unceremoniously transferred to the then prince of Sulzbach. The overture for this treaty was made by Austria, and its guarantee on the part of France against Prussia was expressly stipulated.

In August 1736, the prince-royal removed from his residence at Ruppin to his new mansion at Rheinsberg, where he was visited on the 4th of September by his royal parents. The king stayed three days, amusing himself with hunting, fishing, and shooting, and paid his son's debts to the amount of 40,000 dollars. In the sequel both the king and queen paid frequent visits to Rheinsberg, where the prince employed baron Knobelsdorf to complete the building. It was not finished till 1739, when this inscription was placed over the porch: FRIDERICO · TRANQUILLITATEM COLENTI.

A real oasis amid the sandy wastes of the Mark, Rheinsberg affords a delicious retreat to the lover

of solitude. The view from it, overlooking a noble lake, is bounded by an amphitheatrical belt of oaks and beeches. Two towers rise above the wings, and a double colonnade, adorned with vases and groupes, unites the whole into a quadrangle. Crossing a bridge adorned with statues, you pass through a handsome portico into the court. The apartments are decorated with equal taste and simplicity. Pesne, who may be numbered among Frederick's friends, painted the ceilings, the principal of which is a personified representation of the rising of the sun. On one side is seen Night, enveloped in a thick veil, attended by her ill-omened birds and the Hours. She seems to be retiring to make way for Aurora, by whose side appears the morning star in the form of Venus. You see the white horses of the chariot of the Sun, and Apollo darting around his first rays. It is not improbable that in this clever performance the artist meant to typify the future glory of his royal patron, or that of his country, or perhaps both. The gardens are on a magnificent scale, with broad shady alleys; the principal of them is terminated by an obelisk in the Egyptian style covered with hieroglyphics. In all parts the lounger finds shrubberies and shady seats. Here is the hot-house stored with choice flowers and the rarest fruits; yonder the ingenious labyrinth encloses with thick ivy, yew, and cypress, the temple of Bacchus, with its roof in the form of a reversed punch-bowl. Superb swans sail about on the lake, and boats are

at the disposal of the lover of a solitary excursion on the water.

In this delicious retreat, Frederick soon collected around him a company of choice spirits. His establishment consisted of the steward of the household, von Wülknitz, colonel Senning, his instructor in mathematics, who had lost a leg in the campaigns in Flanders, colonels Buddenbrock and Wylich, captain Chazot, colonel Keyserling, a native of Courland, who at the age of seventeen, previously to his departure for the university, could publicly return thanks to his teachers in Greek, Latin, French, and German, and was now engaged in correcting Frederick's manuscripts for the press; and baron Knobelsdorf, who had quitted the army to devote his attention to the fine arts, and exhibited in Rheinsberg one of the earliest specimens of his talents as an architect. All these resided in the mansion. Jordan, formerly minister at Prenzlau, now Frederick's reader and librarian, lived in the town, and so did des Champs the French preacher, who styled himself chaplain to the prince-royal, though the latter never attended his sermons.

As Charlemagne was called by his friends David and Solomon, and he named them in return Homer and Augustin, Candidus and Damætus, Calliopius and Nathaniel, so Frederick called his friend Jordan, Hephæstion, Suhm, the Saxon minister in Berlin, Diaphanes, Keyserling Cæsarion; and he bestowed similar appellations on his friends in after years. Thus d'Argens was called Isaac, Algarotti,

the Swan of Padua, d'Alembert Anaxagoras, and Guichard was metamorphosed, even in official orders and documents, into Quintus Icilius. In like manner, Rheinsberg itself was changed in letters and poems into Remusberg, agreeably to a tradition that Remus was not killed by his brother, but only driven from Rome, and that he came and settled on this spot.

Here Frederick passed his time in a tranquillity diversified by amusements worthy of rational beings: royal cheer, exquisite wine, heavenly music, strolls in the gardens and woods, excursions on the water, exercises in the arts and sciences, and interesting conversation constituted the enjoyments of the life that he led in this retreat.

Ulric Frederick Suhm, who has just been mentioned, was born in Dresden in 1691. His father had been the Saxon ambassador in France. He himself commenced his career in the foreign department in Dresden and was sent in 1720 as envoy to Berlin. In 1727, when a Prussian crimp, who had been apprehended in Dresden, was about to be brought to trial, Frederick William threatened to take reprisals on Suhm, who in consequence retired precipitately from Berlin. On the restoration of harmony between the two countries, Suhm returned to Berlin, and, during his residence there, found opportunity to gain the friendship of the prince-royal. At Frederick's request, he translated for him into French the Metaphysics of Wolff, a Protestant divine and professor at Halle, who had been

anathematized by his colleagues on account of this work and expelled from Prussia by Frederick William. Chazot revised and corrected this translation, which was unluckily consigned to the flames by a mischievous monkey, a favourite of the prince's, so that Suhm had his task to perform over again. The health of the latter began to decline, on which, in January 1737, Frederick thus wrote to him: "The mere idea of your death is to me a proof of the immortality of the soul." Suhm was appointed in the same year ambassador to the court of Russia, where he assisted Frederick in raising money to supply his necessities. As soon as he had ascended the throne, the king invited him to Berlin. Suhm accepted the invitation but died during the journey. When Frederick heard of his decease, he wrote to Algarotti: "I would rather have lost millions. My heart will never cease to deplore him. His memory will live within me while one drop of blood circulates in my veins. Adieu. My heart bleeds, and my grief is too great for me to think of anything but of this wound." Frederick sent for Suhm's four children (three boys and a girl) to Berlin, and had them educated under his own inspection. He also invited the sister of his deceased friend to Berlin, assigned her a considerable pension and committed the children to her care. To the sons he gave appointments in the army, and he married the daughter to colonel Kleist.

On the subject of Wolff's work the prince-royal

thus writes to Suhm on the 15th of August 1736: "I am now betaking myself to my beloved solitude, where I shall continue my studies. Wolff, as you may imagine, will maintain his place. Rollin will have his hours, and the rest of the time will be devoted to the gods of quiet and repose. A poet, called Gresset, is coming to me, and with him Jordan, Keyserling, Fouqué, and major Stille. Why are we doomed to be separated, and why cannot we pass our days together at Rheinsberg in the bosom of truth and innocence!"

Again he writes to the same correspondent on the 23d of October: "I have no fear of displeasing you if I say a few words concerning our rural amusements, for we wish those whom we love to be acquainted with even the most trivial circumstances. We have divided our occupations into two classes, the useful and the agreeable. Among the useful I class the study of philosophy, history, and the languages: the agreeable are music, the tragedies and comedies which we perform, the masquerades and entertainments that we give. Serious avocations, however, maintain the preference, and I may venture to say that we make only a rational use of pleasures, as they merely serve for recreation and for tempering the gravity of philosophy, to which the Graces cannot easily impart a smiling countenance." Again on the 16th of November "My house indeed is not a place for those who are fond of noisy pleasures; but are not tranquillity, quiet, and the search of truth to be far preferred

to the giddy and turbulent diversions of this world! I have never passed such happy days as since I have been here." On the 22d of June 1737, he writes: "On the 25th, I am going to Amalthea, my beloved garden at Ruppin. I am quite impatient to see again my vines, my cherries, and my melons: there, free from all useless cares, I shall live entirely for myself. I grow daily more stingy of time; I call myself to account, and am exceedingly grieved to waste a moment. My whole soul is now intent on philosophy. It renders me incomparable services, and I am deeply indebted to it. My spirit is less agitated by impetuous and violent emotions; I repress the first workings of my passions, and I never make a choice till I have maturely considered." In the same strain he writes on the 15th of November: "I am studying with all my might, and doing every thing in my power, to acquire the knowledge necessary for the performance of all those duties which my station may impose upon me: in short, I strive to make myself better, and to imbue my mind with all the most brilliant models that antiquity and modern times have presented us with." To Duhan he wrote in 1738: "I am buried more than ever among my books, striving to make amends for the time that I lost so thoughtlessly in my youth, and to collect as large a store as possible of knowledge and of truths."

Frederick's letters to Voltaire and Algarotti and those exquisite effusions of the heart addressed to

colonel Camas and his wife, furnish also many interesting particulars of his life at Rheinsberg, and irrefragable proofs of the kindliness of his disposition. To Voltaire, who had been living since 1733 in solitude with his friend the marquise du Chatelet, Frederick first wrote on the 8th of August 1736. He knew the Henriade by heart, and ranked it above Homer, Virgil, and all other epics; and he entertained the same high opinion of the other works of its author. His letters are full of the enthusiastic admiration which he felt for the man whom he considered as the only great writer. Thus, on the 9th of November 1738, he writes: "At Rheinsberg, in order to be perfectly happy, we want only a Voltaire. But though you live far from us, still you are in our midst. Your portrait adorns my library; it hangs over the bookcase which contains our golden fleece, immediately above your works, and opposite to the place where I generally sit, that I may always have it in my view. I might almost say that your picture is to me as the statue of Memnon, which, when the sun's rays fell upon it, emitted harmonious sounds, and imparted inspiration to the mind of every one who looked at it." In a letter dated January 20th 1739, he says: "In pagan antiquity men offered to the gods the first fruits of the harvest and the vintage; to the God of Jacob they dedicated the first-born of the people of Israel; in the Romish church, they devote not only the first-born, not only the younger sons, but whole kingdoms, as we see in the instance of

St. Louis who renounced his in favour of the virgin Mary. I for my part, I have no first fruits of the harvest, no children, and no kingdom to devote; but I devote to you the first fruits of my Muse in the year 1739. Were I a pagan I would address you by the name of Apollo; were I a Jew, I should perhaps have confounded you with the royal prophet or his son; and were I a papist I might have chosen you for my patron saint and my confessor: but being none of these, I am content to admire you as a philosopher, to love you as a poet, and to esteem you as a friend."

Presents chosen with delicacy were sent to Voltaire and his friend the marquise—Tokay and trinkets of amber. To please the poet, Frederick wrote to the lady, called her "the divine Emilie," and classed her on account of her works in natural philosophy with Descartes, Leibnitz, and Newton—flatteries which were not the genuine effusions of the heart. At length, in 1739, when the prince was engaged himself on the tragedy of Nisus and Euryalus, he conceived the idea of having the whole Henriade engraved on copper, intending to produce a magnificent edition of the work. Algarotti, who happened just then to be in London, was commissioned to seek an engraver, and John Pine undertook to finish the task in seven years. Unluckily for the completion of this plan, Frederick's father died, Algarotti left London, and the young monarch, interweaving the laurels of conquest with his new crown, forgot the Henriade. The preface, however,

was finished, and the king's intention appeared so flattering as to excite the gratitude of Voltaire. Frederick sent to him the manuscript of his refutation of "The Prince" by Machiavel to be corrected, and the philosopher, in his preface, repaid the king for the praises which he had received from him in that to the Henriade.

In these happy years of his life, Frederick was fond of conversing on religious topics, especially with the two ministers de Beausobre and Achard of Berlin. To the latter he sent at his request in a letter from Rheinsberg in June 1736, two texts for sermons: "This is the true word of God"— and "We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling block and to the Greeks foolishness." In his letter he says: "I confess, sir, that I expect much edification from the labour which you have undertaken; for I have unfortunately a very weak faith, which often wants upholding by solid arguments and strong proofs." Beausobre's sermons the prince listened to with delight; he sought the personal acquaintance of the accomplished preacher, and insisted on giving him substantial tokens of his admiration. He read a great number of sermons, particularly those of Bourdaloue, Massillon, Fléchier, and Saurin. When in garrison at Ruppin, he read one of the sermons of the latter every Sunday; but, at Rheinsberg, des Champs preached before the princess-royal and the court. The king sometimes sent for his son to Potsdam to receive the sacrament, which he himself took very devoutly three or

four times a year with the reformed congregation there.

A desire to investigate more profoundly the doctrine concerning God, the world, and the soul, led Frederick to the metaphysics of Wolff, which, as it has been already observed, Suhm translated into French for him. "I shall set out to-morrow for Prussia," he writes to this friend on the 3rd of July 1736; "the journey will last four weeks, during which our celebrated master, Wolff, will be my companion." A new epoch of doubt seems now to have commenced in Frederick's soul. Count Manteuffel remarked with grief from conversations with the prince that during this journey the works of Voltaire and the society of the French ambassador, the marquis de la Chétardie, had shaken his belief in the immortality of the soul, and that all the proofs advanced by Wolff were not capable of producing conviction, because that philosopher founds his whole argument on the simple nature of the soul and has not satisfactorily demonstrated that the soul is a simple essence. Others of Frederick's graver friends were likewise grieved, and feared that, if he pursued this track, the king's prediction that atheism would some day ascend the throne was not unlikely to be verified. Frederick, meanwhile assiduously pursued his search after truth: with Achard, the christian divine, he discussed the immortality of the soul, and studied by himself the German metaphysician. "If," he writes to Suhm, "philosophy enlightens my soul, to you I am in-

debted for this. You have opened for me the way to truth and have been its organ." He felt conscious at the same time that the most valuable prerogative of human reason consists in thinking independently of all authority. "Wolff," he writes, after eight months' study of his work, to Suhm, "says indisputably many admirable and striking things: but he may be impugned, and when we go back to the first principles, we have nothing left for it but to acknowledge our ignorance." Still it was to his philosophical pursuits that Frederick owed the equanimity which shed lustre over his whole life, in prosperity and adversity, and even in the closing struggle; and when in after-years we find him relinquishing those pursuits and zealously applying himself to the cultivation of poetry, it is for didactic poetry that he manifests the strongest predilection.

In music Frederick adhered stedfastly to the German taste, as in eloquence to the French, and in painting to the Italian. In his orchestra, which, as Quantz himself says, would have given perfect satisfaction to any composer and performer, we find none but Germans, the most eminent of whom were the two Grauns, the two Bendas and Bach. Scarcely any other compositions than those of Quantz, Graun, and Hasse were performed at his concerts; and all his capellmeisters were Germans. Frederick not only selected for himself the best master on the flute, but he surpassed him; and under Graun, whom the duke of Brunswick transferred to him in 1735, after he had heard with delight his

Timareta at Salzdahlum, he entered deeply into the study of musical composition. Hasse could not be gained for Prussia; but in 1738, the prince became acquainted with Emanuel Bach, the most accomplished performer on the harpsichord, and Francis Benda, the most eminent violinist, and soon afterwards secured them for his service. To this select band belonged the prince's confidential valet Fredersdorf, who had recommended himself to Frederick's notice by his performance on the flute, and afterwards became his most confidential attendant.

While treating of Frederick's musical pursuits, I must not omit an amusing anecdote, which is related concerning a whimsical composition by Pepusch, director of the band of oboe-players kept by the king.

Pepusch took occasion from a circumstance which happened in the king's smoking party to compose a piece for six oboes, which were superscribed Porco primo, Porco secundo &c. The king was not a little struck with this piece of his capellmeister's. He had it often repeated, and was always obliged to hold his sides for laughter. It was first brought out in winter, and was still the vogue when the prince-royal came to Potsdam for the exercises preparatory to the reviews. The prince was not fond of bass instruments, but only of the flute, and besides he and his associates had a more refined taste in music; hence various comments were made at his court on this composition. It happened one day that Pepusch crossed the Parade while the

prince was exercising his regiment. Frederick called him and with apparent seriousness said he had heard that the capellmeister had produced a new and beautiful piece, that he was very desirous to hear it, and begged him to let it be performed at his apartments that afternoon. Pepusch wished to evade the request, and replied that it was a mere trifle, not worthy of the notice of his royal highness. Frederick assured him that he had been informed that it was a very clever piece for six performers, and earnestly begged to hear it played by those for whom it was written. A large company assembled in the afternoon at the prince's apartments to hear the piece and to make game of the composer. Six music-desks were set out in the middle of the saloon, and the courtiers already laughed at the idea of the grunting that was to take place at them. At length, Pepusch made his appearance, with seven performers. He gravely laid his music on the desks, and when six were supplied, he looked about the room with a note-paper in his hand. The prince went up to him, "Are you looking for something Mr. Capellmeister?" he asked. "Only another desk," replied Pepusch. "I thought," rejoined the prince smiling, "that there were only six pigs in your music." "Your royal highness is quite right," said Pepusch; "but they have since been joined by a sucking-pig—Flauto solo." Frederick himself related this story, laughing, to Quantz, adding: "The old fellow had tricked me, and I was obliged to give him good words into the

bargain, lest he should produce the sucking-pig before my father."

All the inmates of Rheinsberg were at liberty to employ their forenoons as they pleased. At dinner they were expected to take their places at the table with the prince and his consort. During the repast, Frederick was fond of indulging in sallies of wit and humour, and by his example encouraged the most unrestrained interchange of ideas. The evenings were devoted to music. Such only as had invitations were admitted to the concerts, which were held in the saloon. Frederick himself performed on his favourite instrument, and sometimes his own compositions. Baron Bielefeld speaks in high terms of the extraordinary elegance of his dancing, and circumstantially describes a select ball at which the prince, "in a *seladon-green* silk coat, garnished with broad silver *brandebourgs* and tassels, and a richly embroidered waistcoat of silver brocade," obtained the warmest applause by the ease and grace which he displayed in a quadrille.

In this retreat the prince sometimes gave full scope to the jovial humour of the moment. One day, when a few glasses of champagne at dinner had inspired the company with more than usual hilarity, he invited the whole party to continue the *fête* at supper after the concert. No sooner was the cloth removed than Frederick proposed numerous toasts, to which ample justice was done. The spirits of the company, not excepting the ladies, became more and more elevated. All restraint was laid

aside. Some of the gentlemen went into the anteroom for a breath of fresh air. Bielefeld was one of them. On his return, he did not perceive that his large tumbler had been filled with champagne, which he drank off for pure water. The prince called to him to take the chair next to himself, and contrived in friendly chat to beguile him to empty many a glass of Lunel. Most of the gentlemen were as far gone as Bielefeld. The princess and her ladies fled from the noisy scene, while Frederick quietly enjoyed the general tumult. "Long" says Bielefeld, "will this day be remembered at Rheinsberg; fortunately it has but few brothers, as the prince is no drinker. He sacrifices to Apollo and the Muses alone; but perhaps" he significantly adds, "there will come a day when he will build altars to the god of war also."

Neither, indeed, did Frederick then neglect to encourage a military spirit among his intimate associates, with whom he instituted an order called the Order of Bayard, after the French hero of that name, the celebrated *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*. The number of the knights was limited to twelve, among whom, besides Frederick himself, were his brothers Henry and William, duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, duke William of Bunswick-Bevern, and some young military officers. All these were dubbed on their admission by the grand-master Fouqué. As members of the order, they had characteristic appellations. Thus the prince called himself *le Constant;* Fouqué was named *le Chaste;*

another *le Sobre*, and a fourth *le Gaillard*. Their device was a sword lying upon a wreath of laurel, with the motto *Sans peur et sans reproche;* and the insignia consisted of a sword bent into a ring, with this inscription: *Vivent les sans quartier*. In writing to one another, the friends imitated the old French style. As a member of this order, Frederick, during the seven years' war sent to Fouqué some of his literary compositions on military subjects, and at a still later period we find allusions to this fraternity of his earlier years in his correspondence with the same highly esteemed officer whom he thus addresses: "Brave knight without fear and without reproach."

It was at Rheinsberg that Frederick first contracted the habit of early rising, that he might have more time for his various occupations. In 1736, he thus writes to Suhm. "Having been not quite well lately, my surgeon has advised me to take more exercise than I have been accustomed to do: this has obliged me to mount my horse and to take a trot or a gallop every morning. But, that I may not on this account be obliged to change my ordinary way of life, I get up earlier, that I may gain on the one hand what I lose on the other." He now rose in general between five and six o'clock: but after his accession, having more to do, he fixed four o'clock as his hour for rising. It is related that, while with the army on the Rhine, he and some of his companions tried to dispense with sleep altogether, that they might live double the time of

other men. Assisted by strong coffee taken copiously, they struggled successfully for four days and nights against the attacks of drowsiness, but they were by this time so totally exhausted that they were obliged to give up the contest.

Frederick was not allowed to follow his favourite pursuits at Rheinsberg in peace. There were not wanting slanderers to misrepresent them to his father, who frequently threatened to disperse the jovial party assembled there, and called those who composed it a set of French coxcombs. The prince, however, found means to appease his anger. His farm-yard, poultry-yard, and garden frequently furnished little contributions for the royal kitchen. Fat calves, turkeys, and pigeons, wild-fowl, lapwings' eggs, pasties, early asparagus and cauliflowers, grapes, melons, and even favourite wines and oysters, were agreeable presents to Frederick William. He took good care to gratify another of the king's tastes; for, amidst his studies and his pleasures, he had the good sense not to neglect the duty of drill-sergeant. In the rigid inspections of troops that were held, his regiment was always found to be one of the finest and the best disciplined, and his father's satisfaction increased annually. The pains he took to seek tall recruits for the king's regiment earned him increasing manifestations of his favour, and served to dispel the storms which threatened to disturb the good understanding subsisting between them.

Respecting the means which he adopted to

appease his irritable father, the prince thus writes to his friend Suhm:—

"There have lately been some fresh quarrels, the whole proceeding from a jealousy which Bredow has against Wolden. The former found means to insinuate to the king that I was a man without religion; that Manteuffel and you had contributed much to corrupt me; and that Wolden was a madman, who acted as the buffoon to our society and was my favourite. You know that the charge of irreligion is the last resort of slanderers, and, this once preferred, nothing more need be said. The king fired, but I remained silent and composed. My regiment did wonders: the manual exercise, a little flour sprinkled on the heads of the soldiers, men six feet high, and a good many recruits, have proved arguments stronger than those of my calumniators. All is quiet at present, and no more is said of religion, of Wolden, of my persecutors, or of my regiment."

It is related that the king, wishing to see with his own eyes how Frederick passed his time, resolved to take him by surprise. With this view, he set off from Potsdam very early one morning, without giving any previous notice of his intention, and proceeded straight to Ruppin, where the prince's regiment was quartered, intending then to go to Rheinsberg, which is in the neighbourhood, to dinner. Arriving betimes at Ruppin, he there found Frederick exercising his regiment. His astonishment was equalled only by his pleasure. It is

supposed that some friend of Frederick's had secretly sent him information of his father's purposed visit very early in the morning and that the prince had taken his measures accordingly.

In the summer of 1738, the king accompanied by the prince-royal, went to Wesel, and, when the military exercises were over, proceeded to Loo in Guelders, to visit his cousin, the prince of Orange. Their short stay there of only three days was highly gratifying to all parties. Frederick William found his son more sedate than in the campaign on the Rhine, where he had shown a strong desire to please the fair sex. One day at table the conversation turned upon the freemasons, against whom Frederick William launched out with great acrimony. The count of Lippe-Bückeburg, himself a member of the fraternity, defended it with such warmth and eloquence, that the prince privately intimated to the count his wish to join a society which numbered such stanch champions of truth among its members. The count accordingly requested some of the brothers residing at Hamburg and Hanover to meet at Brunswick, which city the king was to visit on his way to Berlin. Bielefeld then a merchant at Hamburg, was one of the number, and he gives an amusing account of the embarrassments which he and his companions had to encounter in preserving the necessary secrecy.

"I left Hamburg," he says in his report to M. von Stüven, "you know with whom, on the 10th of August. On the evening of the next day, we

were at the gates of Brunswick. The custom-house officer made preparations to search our baggage, as it was his duty to do. This threw us into no little perplexity, as you may judge yourself. We had a large chest filled with the implements belonging to the lodge. In spite of the freedom enjoyed at the fair-time in Brunswick, these things might be prohibited goods. We considered for a moment. If the searcher had insisted on the opening of the box, we should have had no other resource but to give ourselves out for conjurors or gold-makers. All, however, passed off well. I slipped a ducat into the man's hand, on which he said he was sure that we were real gentlemen, who would not smuggle any thing contraband into the city. We took up our quarters at Korn's hotel.

"Next morning, the thunder of the cannon proclaimed the arrival of the king of Prussia and his retinue. The presence of that monarch and of the numerous strangers whom the fair attracts to Brunswick, produced an extraordinary bustle in the city. We agreed that none of us should be presented at court but the count of Lippe, who was directed to settle with the prince-royal the day, hour, and place of reception. He appointed the night between the 14th and 15th, and fixed upon our quarters as the place for holding the lodge; and being very spacious they were well adapted to the purpose. The only objection seemed to be the proximity of a Mr. von W. whose apartment was separated from the saloon only by a thin boarded

partition; so that he might hear all that passed and betray us. This gave us at first some uneasiness, but, our brethren from Hanover being acquainted with the happy disposition of our neighbour, who is fond of drowning all his cares in wine, we plied him so well with bumpers in his room after dinner, and reduced him to such a state that he would probably have slept close to a battery without awaking.

"The whole of the 14th was spent in preparations for the lodge, and at twelve at night the prince-royal arrived in company with count Wartensleben, captain in the king's regiment at Potsdam. The prince introduced him to us as a candidate, whom he very warmly recommended, and begged that he might be admitted immediately after himself. At the same time he desired that he might be treated like any private individual, and that none of the usual ceremonies might be altered on his account. Accordingly, he was admitted in the customary form; and I could not sufficiently admire his fearlessness, his composure, and his address. After the double reception a lodge was held. All was over by four in the morning, and the prince returned to the ducal palace apparently as well pleased with us as we were charmed with him."

The zeal of the prince for the brotherhood induced him to invite the baron von Oberg and Bielefeld to Rheinsberg, where, in 1739, they founded a lodge, into which Keyserling, Jordan,

Möllendorf, Queis, and even Frederick's first valet de chambre, Fredersdorf, were admitted. Bielefeld gained a patron in the prince, and subsequently entered into the Prussian service at his invitation.

We have seen that Frederick, owing to the parsimony of his father, was always involved in pecuniary embarrassments. Seckendorf, who had procured him a regular annual sum from the court of Vienna, was no longer in Berlin, and the prince was obliged to seek some other channel through which he might procure assistance. His correspondence with Suhm, who had formerly been minister from the court of Saxony at Berlin, and now held the like appointment at Petersburg, shows that through him the prince obtained loans from the empress Anne of Russia, and her favourite Biron, afterwards duke of Courland, after Suhm had in vain endeavoured to find at Vienna some man of business who could be relied on. In 1737, when Frederick's necessities had become most urgent, Suhm at length obtained 10,000 dollars from Biron. "A fortnight later and I should have been undone," writes the prince in his letter of thanks. But with increasing demands, and owing particularly to the expensiveness of tall recruits, those of 5 feet 10 inches costing 700 dollars, and those of 6 feet 1000 each, increased resources became daily more necessary. "I have no money," complains Frederick to Suhm in 1738; "recruits are continually getting dearer, and I am obliged to buy them."

In this correspondence, carried on in French,

those parts of the letters referring to loans are written in cipher, and sometimes in German; and the loans themselves are disguised as books. Thus Frederick writes: "Since you have kindly undertaken to be my agent in Russia, have the goodness to send me the new edition they are there printing of The Life of Prince Eugene: it will be the shortest way and the best plan for sending it; besides, the agreement with the bookseller is more sure and advantageous than with the Vienna publishers, who print slowly, give no credit to subscribers, and whom, in short, I do not like. I am asked for twelve copies of this book. Those who have ordered them, persecute me daily for them, as if I had a printing press in my house, and could satisfy them whenever I please. In short, eleven or twelve persons are so mad after 'The Life of Prince Eugene,' that they are determined to have it at any rate. I make vows to all the saints, and indeed without you I should be in a very bad way. Let me beg you then to make your own agreement with the bookseller; I give you full power to do so, for my interests cannot be in better hands than yours." In this letter "The Life of Prince Eugene" signifies of course a sum of money; by the twelve copies, he means 12,000 dollars, and the persons who are "so mad after them" are creditors.

In 1738, Suhm suggested to the prince the expediency of receiving pecuniary aid direct from the empress, on account of the alleged poverty of her favourite. On the 21st of March he writes

"You will receive a packet in May—probably the same sum as last year, for I have not been able to effect any change. You may judge how anxious the duke is to serve you, by the great effort which he makes to do so, having himself the tremendous debts of his predecessors to discharge. He has, it is true, one great resource. It is thence, without doubt, that you must think of drawing in future. She is very well disposed to this. She truly loves and esteems you, and will have great pleasure in rendering you service; persuaded as she is that persons who think alike, and whose ideas are noble, may assist one another without any inconvenience being the result."

This evidently points to the empress herself as Frederick's future resource, and there can be no doubt that the pretended poverty of Biron was a mere stratagem for the purpose of reducing the heir to the Prussian throne to complete dependence on the czarina. Frederick's reply was as follows: "Your letter embarrassed me so much, that I have taken some time to answer it. I cannot bring myself to agree to your suggestions. The idea of begging money is diametrically opposite to my principles. If I could have remained on the same footing with the duke, I should have been glad; but the difference is very great. I can be under obligation to a duke; but to an empress!—only consider the consequences."

In spite of the prince's reluctance to lay himself under obligation to his father's powerful neighbour,

the necessity of providing for pressing demands forced him in December, 1739, to humble himself so far. "I will write to the empress," he says, "as soon as you send me a draft of the letter and the titles. I must have 24,000 dollars per year. If you can succeed in this, you may take 2000 of them for yourself. I hope that the agreement will be concluded by the month of April."—Owing probably to the king's illness, and the prospect of his speedy dissolution, the contemplated agreement was not carried into effect.

We learn from the conclusion of the correspondence with Suhm that, after Frederick's accession to the throne, one of the first points to which he directed his attention was the repayment of the sums that had been so borrowed; thus these transactions bear no other character than that of an accommodation between two private individuals.

These letters to Suhm exhibit the first examples of a singularity in which Frederick now began to indulge—namely, the practice of signing his name, Federic, to all letters written in the French language, which he continued till the end of his life. It is not improbable that the whim of dropping the first r may have been suggested by his Italian studies at this time, or by his correspondence with Algarotti; the name being in that language Federico. His German signature was very characteristic. It consisted of a scrawl combining together the letters Fdch, afterwards abbreviated to Fch, and finally to F only. In the first years of his reign it

was very large, and in general occupied the whole blank space left on the paper, upon which cabinet letters and orders were written; but in the latter years of his life it became gradually smaller and smaller, and when his hand began to shake, was scarcely legible.

In the summer of 1739, Frederick William, accompanied by his two eldest sons, made a tour in Prussia and Lithuania, and held reviews at Wehlau and Königsberg. During this tour the prince-royal thus writes to Jordan: "We have now been travelling nearly three weeks. The heat is as intense as if we were astride of a sun-beam, and the dust is like a dense cloud which veils us from the eyes of the passengers: besides, we travel like the angels, without sleep, and almost without food. Judge then what must be my condition."

The state of the province of Lithuania, partly repeopled with 17,000 of the emigrants from Salzburg, furnished him with a theme for a letter to Voltaire, dated Insterburg, July 27th, in which he not only does ample justice to the paternal administration of that province by his father, but clearly indicates the principles by which his own conduct as a sovereign would be governed.

"After three weeks' travelling," he says, "we are at length arrived in a country which I consider as the ne plus ultra of the civilized world. It is a province little known in Europe, but which deserves to be better known from the circumstance of its having been in reality a creation of the king, my father's.

Prussian Lithuania is a duchy full 30 German miles long and 20 broad, though it grows narrower towards Samogitia. This province was ravaged by the plague at the commencement of the present century, and more than 300,000 of the inhabitants perished of the disease and want. The court, ignorant of the wretched condition of the people, neglected to afford assistance to a province rich and fertile, populous, and abounding in all sorts of productions. The disorder carried off the people; and the land remained uncultivated and overgrown with weeds. The very brute animals were not exempted from this universal calamity. In short, the most flourishing of our provinces was converted into one of the most miserable wastes. Meanwhile, Frederick I. died, and with him was buried all his false grandeur; which consisted only in a vain magnificence, and the pompous display of frivolous ceremonies. My father, who succeeded him, felt compassion for the general misery. He visited the country. He beheld with his own eyes this vast tract laid waste, and all the dreadful traces which a contagious disease, famine, and the sordid avarice of a venal administration, leave behind them. Twelve or fifteen towns depopulated, and four or five hundred villages uninhabited, presented themselves to his view. So far from being discouraged by this melancholy sight, it served only to render his compassion the more lively; and he resolved to restore population, plenty, and commerce to this land, which had lost even the appearance of an

inhabited country. Since that time, he has spared no expence for promoting his salutary intentions. He first established wise laws and regulations; he rebuilt what had been suffered to go to ruin in consequence of the plague; and he settled there thousands of families brought from different countries of Europe. The land again became productive, and the country populous; commerce once more flourished, and at present abundance reigns more than ever in this fertile country. There are now half a million of inhabitants in Lithuania: there are now more towns than formerly, more cattle, and more wealth and fertility than in any part of Germany.

"All these results are due to the king alone, who not only issued the orders, but himself superintended their execution. He both conceived the plan, and carried it into effect; sparing neither toil, nor trouble, nor treasure, nor promises, nor rewards, to ensure the comfort and the existence of half a million of rational beings, who are indebted to him alone for their happiness and their establishment. There is something to my mind so heroic in the generous and laborious manner in which the king has devoted himself to the task of restoring to this desolate country its population, its fertility, and its prosperity, that I think you will view his conduct in the same light that I do when you are made acquainted with the circumstances."

It was during this journey that the king, perhaps aware of his son's straitened circumstances, surprised him by the voluntary gift of the breeding

stud at Trakehnen, which at that time produced a clear annual profit of 12,000 dollars. Frederick was more delighted with this unexpected token of his father's favour than with the magnificence of the present, and more deeply touched by the revival of his affection than by the possession of objects flattering to the self-interest and the ambition of men.

The king returned ailing from this journey, and symptoms of dropsy soon appeared. Towards the end of his life, his sentiments seemed greatly changed and his temper much milder. When he had one day spoken of intellectual occupations as something laudable, and shown a kindly disposition in the circle of his family, Frederick thus writes to Camas on the 21st December 1738—"I have found a remarkable change in the temper of the king; he has spoken of the sciences as something praiseworthy; he is extremely gracious, and I have been overjoyed, transported, with what I have seen and heard. The feelings of filial affection are redoubled in me when I perceive such rational, such true, sentiments in the author of my being." A year later, he could communicate to another friend a still more important change in the character of his father, upon whom the superior mental powers of his son had certainly not been without influence. "The news of the day," he writes, "is that the king reads Wolff's Philosophy for three hours daily; for which God be praised! So we have at last arrived at the triumph of truth." It was an

abridgment of Wolff's Natural Theology that the king was then reading. In this last period of his life, Frederick William was earnestly striving to make amends for past faults, and to regain for his country the philosopher whom he had exiled, an intention which it was reserved for his successor to realise.

Meanwhile, his father grew daily worse. At the beginning of February 1740, the prince of Dessau recommended to the king to reinforce the army, though the court of Vienna had determined on reducing its military establishment by one third. Frederick William wrote to him with his own hand: "I expect to die and have told all I know to my eldest son." When, soon afterwards, he was informed that the prince-royal had been seized with violent cramp in the stomach, and was so ill that it was thought he could not outlive the night, he burst into tears, and with many lamentations exclaimed: "Alas! am I then to lose my son!"

During the greater part of the winter, Frederick remained near his father. Towards spring, as his situation seemed somewhat improved, the prince repaired to Rheinsberg. From this retreat he was suddenly summoned by an express, bringing intelligence that his father's dissolution was near at hand. Frederick hastened to Potsdam, where the king had chiefly resided during his illness. Frederick found him in the public place near the palace, seated in his rolling chair, looking on at the laying of the foundation stone for a neighbouring house.

As soon as he perceived his son at a distance, he extended his arms towards him, and the prince with tears threw himself into them. In this attitude they remained for a considerable time without speaking. The king at length broke silence. He said that though he had been strict with him still he had always loved him with paternal fondness, and it gave him great joy to see him once more. He then desired to be taken to his apartment and conversed for a full hour in private with the prince, explaining to him all the domestic and foreign concerns of the kingdom. These conversations were continued on the succeeding days.

It was after one of these conversations that his fondness for his son was most affectingly expressed to those who were admitted to his presence. "Is not God very good to me," said he, "in giving me so excellent and worthy a son!" Frederick tenderly kissed his father's hand, while his tears fell upon it. The king, clasping him in his arms, and pressing him to his bosom, sobbed and ejaculated: "O my God, I die content, since I have such a worthy son and successor!"

But the more affectionately the king treated his son the more Frederick's heart was wrung by the painful illness of his honoured parent. "My present state," he writes to Voltaire on the 26th of February 1740, "so oppresses my brain that I have nearly lost the faculty of thinking;" and in the like tone he communicated to him the circumstances of his decease. "On Friday, the 27th of May," he

writes, "I arrived at Potsdam, where I found the king in such a state that it was evident he could not live long. He showed great kindness to me and spoke to me for more than an hour on the internal and external affairs of the country, with extraordinary correctness of judgment. On Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, he continued these conversations, entirely resigned to his fate and bearing his excruciating sufferings with the greatest fortitude. On Tuesday morning, at five o'clock, he resigned the government into my hands and took leave of my brothers, of his principal officers, and of me. The queen, my brothers, and myself attended him in his last moments. With the stoicism of a Cato he endured his tortures, and expired between one and two o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday the 31st of May, with the curiosity of a natural philosopher solicitous to observe what takes place at the moment of dissolution, and with the heroism of a great man who wishes to leave his family an example for imitation."

His daughter furnishes us with a more particular account of the circumstances of her father's last hours. She tells us that, after having been very ill all night, at seven in the morning of the day on which he died, he was drawn in his chair to the apartment of the queen, who was still asleep, not aware that he was so ill. "Get up," said he, "I have but a few hours to live. I shall at least have the satisfaction to die in your arms." He then desired to be taken to the princes, of whom he

took an affectionate farewell excepting the prince-royal, who was ordered to follow him to his apartment. As soon as he was there, he sent for the two principal ministers, the prince of Anhalt, and all the generals and colonels who were at Potsdam. Having thanked them in a short speech for their services and exhorted them to show the same fidelity to the prince-royal, his sole heir, as they had done to him, he performed the ceremony of abdication and resigned all his authority to his son, to whom he gave an earnest exhortation on the duties of princes towards their subjects, recommending the army, and the generals and officers present in particular, to his attention. Then turning to the prince of Anhalt, "You," said he, "are the oldest of my generals, it is right that I should give you my best horse." At the same time he ordered the horse to be brought, and perceiving that the prince-royal was much affected, he said to him: "It is the lot of man, a tribute that we must all pay to nature." Fearing lest his firmness might be shaken by the tears and lamentations of all who were present, he signified that they should retire, ordering all his servants to put on a new livery which he had had made for them, and his regiment a new uniform. Meanwhile the queen entered the room. She had scarcely been there a quarter of an hour before the king swooned. He was immediately put to bed, where the means employed for the purpose brought him to himself. Looking around him and seeing the attendants in

their new clothes, he exclaimed: "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!" He then asked his first physician how long he had yet to live; and was told that it might probably be half an hour. He called for a mirror, and, having looked at himself in it, observed: "I am much altered; I shall look frightful when I am dying." He repeated his former question to the physicians: they told him that a quarter of an hour had elapsed and that his pulse was rising. "So much the better," he replied, "it will be over with me the sooner." He grew gradually weaker, till about noon he expired. The new king first conducted the queen to her apartment where many tears were shed; "whether false or sincere," sarcastically observes the margravine of Bayreuth, "I know not."

Another account says that, on the morning of the 31st of May, the king delivered to the prince-royal the crown, the sceptre, and the key of his treasure and gave him his blessing. The privy-councillor Vockerodt drew up at his desire a protocol of the transaction. After a discourse delivered by the Lutheran provost Roloff, exhorting him to repentance, he ordered the black marble coffin, which he had had made for himself many years before, to be brought to the foot of his bed. In the presence of his generals and several privy-councillors, he directed the instructions respecting his funeral, dated the 29th of May, to be delivered to the prince-royal, and then closed his eyes in the assurance that he left a successor who would complete

the structure for which he had laid so solid a foundation.

It is related that, at the time when the king had the coffin made for himself, he ordered another for the queen. When finished, he had them brought to him. He tried his own, and the other was taken to the queen, who had received no previous intimation of the matter and who was desired to lie down in it to try how it fitted. At first sight of this doleful object, she imagined that she was about to be doomed to die, and it was under this dismal impression that she complied with the direction.

It is further stated that, when the clergyman who visited the king just before his death earnestly exhorted him to repentance, and represented to him the various ways in which he had sinned, at the mention of each new transgression the king every moment interrupted his spiritual adviser with the exclamation: "But I have never been unfaithful to my wife, and I hope on that account God will forgive me for the rest."

The son of a weak and vain father and of a mother distinguished for her virtues as well as for the excellence of her character, her understanding, and her love of the sciences, Frederick William was in every respect the reverse of both. Original and eccentric in disposition, with austere and coarse manners and a harsh, blunt way, he despised pomp, ostentation, and all that embellishes life, and attached a value to that only which is indispensable. His character was full of contradictions: he was at

once just and cruel; parsimonious and liberal; a careful father of a family, but morose and brutal to his children. His activity was unwearied and always directed to the useful. "He had," says his great successor, "an industrious spirit in a robust body, and perhaps more capacity for entering into the most minute details than any man that ever lived: but if he did occupy himself with little things, it was very often from the conviction that out of many such great ones are produced. By his endeavours to bring the individual parts of his work to the highest degree of perfection, he sought to give that perfection to the whole. His military system he combined so intimately with the other public institutions that it was impossible to alter any thing whatever without running the risk of overthrowing the state itself." He rebuilt several towns which had been destroyed by fire; and founded whole villages which he peopled with foreign settlers. He enlarged the town of Potsdam, and completed the quarter of Berlin called Friedrichsstadt. The custom-house of that city was transformed into a cloth-manufactory, which employed five thousand persons, and supplied the whole Prussian army with cloth. Manufactories of fire-arms were established at Spandau and Potsdam. We have seen how he metamorphosed Lithuania, desolated by pestilence, into a flourishing province, by peopling it anew at an immense expense with colonists from Switzerland, Swabia, the Palatinate, and Salzburg.

Frederick William was enabled by rigid economy in his finances to expend six millions of dollars on the improvement of his dominions, and nearly as much on the repeopling of Lithuania; to purchase new crown domains to the amount of five millions; to lay out upwards of two millions in estates to produce independent incomes for his younger sons, and a million and a half on magnificent silver plate. All this he accomplished with a yearly revenue of something less than seven millions and a half of dollars, six millions of which were required for the maintenance of an army amounting at his death to 72,000 men; and yet he contrived to leave his successor a treasure of 8,700,000 dollars, or about a million and a half sterling.

Frederick, who, in the memoirs of the house of Brandenburg, relates the whole history of his father's reign with peculiar predilection, closes it thus: "To this prince Prussia owes the formation of her army and, as a result of that, all her prosperity: and if this army has since become formidable, to him belongs all the merit. If it is true that we are indebted for the shade of the oak that covers us to the vital power of the acorn from which it sprung, the world must acknowledge that in the laborious life of this prince and in his prudent measures must be sought the germ of that prosperous state in which the royal house found itself after his death. . . . . The domestic vexations of this great prince we have passed over in silence. One ought to have some indulgence for the faults of

children in consideration of the virtues of their father."

It may be useful to the reader to subjoin a list of the numerous family of Frederick William by his queen Sophie Dorothee, as the names of several of its members will frequently occur in this and the following volumes.

1. Frederick Louis, born November 3, 1707, died May 13, 1708. A well preserved wax figure of this infant prince is preserved in the Museum at Berlin.

2. Frederike Sophie Wilhelmine, (the favourite sister of Frederick the Great) born July 3, 1709, married November 20, 1731 to the hereditary prince (afterwards margrave) of Bayreuth, died October 14, 1758.

3. Frederick William, born August 16, 1710, died July 31, 1711. Of this prince also there is a well preserved likeness in wax in the Royal Museum.

4. Frederick (surnamed the Great) born January 24, 1712, who, according to some, was christened Charles Frederick.

5. Charlotte Albertine, born May 5, 1713, died June 10, 1714. Her likeness is also to be seen in the Museum.

6. Frederike Louise, born September 28, 1714; married May 30, 1729, to Charles William Frederick, margrave of Anspach; died February 14, 1784.

7. Philippine Charlotte, born March 13, 1716;

married July 2, 1733, to duke Charles of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel; died February 16, 1801.

8. Louis Charles William, born May 2, 1717, died August 31, 1719.

9. Sophie Dorothee Marie, born January 25, 1719, married November 10, 1734 to the margrave Frederick William *of Brandenburg-Schwedt; died 1764.*

10. Louise Ulrike, born July 24, 1720; married *in 1744 to Adolphus Frederick,* duke of Holstein *Gottorp,* afterwards king of Sweden; died July *16, 1782.*

11. Augustus William, born August 9, 1722, married January 6, 1742 to Louise Amelie, sister of the consort of Frederick the Great; died June 12, 1758. His son, Frederick William ascended the throne of Prussia, at Frederick's death in 1786.

12. Anne Amelie, born November 9, 1723; abbess of Quedlinburg, 1755; died March 30, 1787.

13. Frederick Henry Louis, born January 18, 1726; married June 25, 1752 to Wilhelmine, princess of Hesse-Cassel; died August 3, 1802.

14. Augustus Ferdinand, born May 23, 1730; married September 27, 1755, to Anna Elizabeth Louise, daughter of the margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt, died February 10, 1820.

CHAPTER XV.

The new Queen and the Queen-Mother.—Disappointed Expectations.—Proceedings of Frederick II on his accession.—Directions to his Ministers and to the provincial Chambers.—Famine.—Opening of the Granaries to the Poor.—Projected Reform of Courts of Justice.—Baron Pöllnitz.—Funeral of the late King.—The Potsdam Grenadiers broken up.—Increase of the Army.—Order of Merit instituted.—Professor Wolff recalled.—Occupations of the King.—He receives Homage in Prussia; and in Berlin.—His decision in political Matters.—Remonstrance to the Elector of Mentz.—Quarrel with the Bishop of Liege.—The King visits Strasburg incognito.—Proceeds to Westphalia.—His first interview with Voltaire.—He returns to Berlin, and goes to Rheinsberg.—Death of the Emperor, Charles VI.—Preparations for War.

We have seen under what circumstances Frederick's marriage was brought about. It was apprehended that his accession to the throne would produce some change in regard to that princess. On the day of Frederick William's death, when the court attended to compliment his successor and then proceeded for the same purpose to the apartment of the queen, many of them feared that she would not long retain the title which they were about to give her. The queen, who always loved her consort, and never spoke of him but with the liveliest interest, received their compliments with the affability natural to her character, but with a heart heavy with anxiety. That feeling was not a

little aggravated when the doors were suddenly thrown open, and the courtiers ranged themselves to make way for the king who entered her apartment. Concluding that the object of this visit was to intimate to her the loss of her husband, she could scarcely rise to receive the king, and such were her confusion and weakness that she was obliged to lean upon one of her ladies while she advanced to meet him. She was uttering a few broken words to excuse her emotion, when Frederick interrupted her. "Madam," said he "the whole kingdom knows in what manner I accompanied you to the altar; you know yourself how I have lived with you since that time."—This exordium increased the uneasiness of the queen, and she was on the point of fainting.—"You imagine, perhaps, that, now I am master of my actions, I shall renounce engagements contracted against my will. But know, madam, that your patience, your gentleness, your unalterable affection, and a thousand other virtues with which you are endowed, have long opened my eyes. Hitherto, something in my character, call it what you please, has prevented me from making this avowal. I wished to delay it till the moment when I could convince the whole world that it was entirely free and voluntary. This moment, madam, is arrived, and I invite you to share with me a throne of which you are so worthy."

Such is the account given by Laveau, in his life of Frederick II. but which is said by Preuss to be wholly unauthenticated. The latter writer tells us

that Frederick presented his consort to the assembled court with the words: "This is your queen!" and that, according to another account, the king on this occasion embraced and kissed her in the tenderest manner. Be this as it may, we know for certain that the queen, who, to use her own words, had not produced children solely through the dispensation of Heaven, was presented in the course of this year with the palace of Schönhausen near Berlin, where she passed the summer months till her death, residing in winter in the palace of the capital. Though, as princess-royal she had constantly lived with her husband at Rheinsberg, and is even said at that time to have had some influence over him, yet, after his accession to the throne, they became almost strangers to one another; but Frederick, on all occasions, did ample justice to her virtues. He himself paid her but one visit at Schönhausen, and she never saw his favourite residence Sans Souci. When they were both in Berlin, where the king regularly resided during Lent and for some time before the reviews, he and his brothers dined several times in the course of the year on Sundays with the queen; and after his example the whole court and the foreign ambassadors always treated her with the highest respect. At such times he not only sent every morning to enquire how she did, but frequently addressed to her a sort of billet doux expressing his respect in French prose or verse. The queen made similar replies to these billets. Possessing a perfect knowledge of French, she

translated a number of German religious works in a masterly manner into that language. When such a translation was finished and printed, she sent a copy of it to the king, who had little relish for that kind of reading, and he in return presented her with his works, which were as little to her taste. The life of this so singularly situated princess was indeed devoted entirely to piety, beneficence and industry. Out of her allowance of 41,000 dollars she expended 24,000 on the poor. To the king she was most fondly attached. Religious and scientific pursuits were her recreation. She had a select library, and frequently invited men of learning, especially divines, to her table. Gellert was her favourite author: she prided herself on having been born in the same year with him, and translated his moral lectures, his odes, and songs into French. The king never invited her to Sans Souci, and she was either too modest or too proud to go thither unasked. In his will, Frederick assigned to her an increase of income, adding: "I desire my successor to pay the respect due to the widow of his uncle and to a princess of distinguished virtue."

The queen-dowager had not less reason to be satisfied with her son's tenderness and respect than his consort. He gave her the title of queen-mother; and at the moment of his father's death, when she would have called him "your majesty," he said, "Continue to call me your son, a title infinitely more precious to me than the royal dignity."

In Thiébault's entertaining volumes, I find the

following particulars concerning these two princesses which I shall extract at the risk of some little repetitions.

The queen-mother, on becoming a widow retired to Mon-Bijou, a small building, situated in the midst of a moderate garden, in the city of Berlin, on the bank of the Spree, opposite to a dyke planted with willows and a meadow almost always overflowed. This court at Mon-Bijou was remarkable on various accounts. Frederick came thither regularly every Wednesday to pay his duty to his mother, unless when he was holding reviews or in the field with his army. Never did any sovereign pay greater attention and respect. His hat was always in his hand before he entered the queen-dowager's apartments; if he went in while she was at play, he would stand behind her chair and not sit down then or at other times till she desired him. One day he entered when least expected: the gentlemen were in the first room playing at pharao; and, in their first surprize, strove to hide their cards. Frederick, perceiving their embarrassment, told them they ought to know that, at her majesty the queen-mother's, there never was a king, and that whatever she thought proper to permit was beyond censure. He then inquired what game they were playing at, and on being told, he begged them to resume their play that he might have some idea of it. He even asked them to explain the game. To render this explanation more intelligible, a pack of cards was presented to him: he drew one and staked a frederic d'or upon

it. The chances were favourable to him. At every fresh winning, he asked: "What must I do now?" He was told to take up the money he had won, or to fold down a corner of his card, or to take another card, with the same folds, which would give him twice as high a stake as the preceding. The king made the folds, took fresh cards when the first were exhausted, and continued to win, till the banker informed him that, the bank, not being strong, since they were playing only for amusement, the whole of it belonged to his majesty. The king, throwing his cards on the table, replied: "You are wrong; none of it can belong to me, for I was not playing; I was only learning the game. I thank you for your complaisance." He then went to his mother. This is said to be the only time in his life that he ever played at cards.

The queen, Frederick's consort, possessed the rare merit of never causing herself to be talked of. No mention was ever made of her in any sort of business or intrigue; and never did she solicit any thing either for herself or for others. In all that related to her court, she and her grande gouvernante were anxious only to learn the intentions of the king and to conform strictly to them. Admiring her illustrious husband more than any one else in the world, she would never have suffered any body to speak of him with indifference: she approved and would have others approve of all that he said or did. Her discretion at the same time was carried to a length that would not be imagined. Could any

one believe, for instance, that, after she became queen, she was never at Potsdam, though she had a strong desire to see old and new Sans Souci, which she never did set eyes on! Nobody would ever have persuaded her to express her wishes on this subject in the presence of any one who could repeat what she said to the king. All her excursions as queen were confined to Schönhausen, and sometimes to Charlottenburg, on extraordinary occasions, with the exception of her flight to Magdeburg during the seven years' war, after the unfortunate battle of Kunersdorf. Nothing could be more simple, uniform, tranquil, and peaceful than the court of this queen. She was never talked of, because in truth there was nothing to say about her. It was nevertheless she who held the real court of the country; it was to her residence that the ministers, generals, envoys, and courtiers repaired on certain days and at certain hours; it was to her that foreigners and others were presented. "There is a grand gala at the queen's to-day," said a facetious Frenchman, named Charpentier, "for, as I went through the palace, I saw an old lamp lighted on the grand staircase." It is true that the queen observed a very strict economy. She was accustomed to give suppers, but took care to have the table so well covered with plate that there was room for but very few dishes. Hence, most of those who had the honour to take supper with her seldom failed to get another when they reached home. In summer time this was very inconvenient, for the queen was

then at Schönhausen, which is a good league distant from Berlin.

This queen was the mother of the poor, but it was long before that fact became generally known, because her bounty was not conferred on them by herself, but through the medium of the inferior authorities. I should not state, says Thiebault, that she wrote and printed a book of devotion, if I had not observed that she dedicated it to her brother Ferdinand of Brunswick, in a long epistle, which displays all the candour of her soul and all the affection that she felt not only for all her relatives but in particular for this brother, who acquired such a high military reputation during the seven years' war at the head of the army of the Allies.

The king never failed to attend her court on the day on which her birthday was celebrated. He stayed half an hour, talking with her and with any persons who might be there. It was the only day in the year that he was not in boots. For this occasion he had a pair of black silk stockings, which, not being gartered, usually bagged about his legs.—Such traits as this apply, it is to be presumed, to the later period of the king's life, when, as it is well known, he became more and more inattentive to personal appearance. Let us return to the moment of his accession.

A general movement, which proceeded from Potsdam, first agitating the capital and then the remoter provinces of the monarchy, expressed the hopes and fears conceived by courtiers, civilians,

favourites, soldiers, and people, from the change of sovereign. Many had felt the heavy weight of the iron sceptre of the deceased monarch; the hearts of some throbbed at the recollection of the former dissensions between father and son, in which they had taken a decided part against the latter; while the friends and favourites of the new sovereign exulted in the prospect of basking in the sunshine of his favour and deriving honours and wealth from his liberality, to which they conceived themselves to have so just a claim. Wylich, as courier, brought the news of Frederick William's death to Rheinsberg. Presently, though it was night, all was commotion there. Knobelsdorf woke Bielefeld and in so doing upset a table on which the latter had laid his money. He was stooping to pick it up. "Pooh!" cried Knobelsdorf, "who would care about *dreiers* [three groschen pieces, about four-pence half-penny of our money each] now that ducats will presently shower down upon us!" and in these hopes they hastened to Charlottenburg, where the young king had for a time established his court. An equally joyous bustle prevailed there. Keyserling, Frederick's declared favourite, was in raptures. Upon his door was inscribed the name "Cæsarion" given to him by his royal friend; the courtiers assembled in his ante-chambers; and the king himself dispelled his sincere sorrow in his apartment, and there drank the mineral waters that were prescribed for him. Numberless adventurers, filled with chimerical hopes, thronged to the foot of the throne. Cæsarion employed fifty clerks to

answer congratulatory addresses; Jordan took a shorter way, and framed all his replies after one model.

The people thronged the court-yard of Charlottenburg, and the king was greeted with endless cheers whenever he showed himself. He was grave and dejected. "You know not," said he to Bielefeld, "what I have lost in my father." Frederick William's old confidants and generals were filled with joyful surprise when they heard the reprimand given by the king to his hitherto intimate friend lieutenant-general count von der Schulenburg, because he had left his regiment without leave and hastened to Charlottenburg to express his congratulations in person. It is related too that the veteran warrior, prince Leopold of Anhalt, who had formerly belonged to the Austrian party at court, when he came to express his condolence to Frederick, entered weeping, and begged that he and his sons might be allowed to retain their appointments in the army; and himself his former influence. The king is said to have replied that he had no intention to deprive him of any of his appointments, for he trusted that the prince would serve him as faithfully as he had served his father; adding that, as for influence, no one, while he reigned, would have influence but himself.

Keyserling was occupied with his duties as colonel and first aide-de-camp; Chazot had likewise a military appointment; and Jordan was overloaded with public business at a very slender salary. To each according to his abilities was

allotted a suitable sphere, in which he was expected to earn by assiduity the confidence of his sovereign. "I confess," says the disappointed Bielefeld, when he was sent as secretary of legation, "that this was making but a small beginning." To the high officers of state who had enjoyed his father's confidence Frederick was equally just and gracious. One only was dismissed—the "chimney-councillor and extortioner," Eckert, a man who had acquired the favour of the deceased sovereign in the same degree that he had drawn upon himself the general hatred of the people by his administration: while many who anticipated disgrace and persecution received particular tokens of Frederick's bounty. Those who had been his judges were not mortified by reproof or censure. Thus as Bielefeld had predicted, "the day of his accession did indeed prove to be a day of disappointed expectations." But most severe was the disappointment of the foreigners who thronged in troops across the Rhine, flattering themselves that the merit of being French and speaking French would obtain them brilliant posts from the "Roi du Nord."

One of his favourites had nothing more pressing to do than to write an invitation to a friend in Paris, assuring him that he had now an opportunity of making his fortune in Berlin, where he might expect to lead the most jovial life in the world in Frederick's company. Unluckily, the king had entered the writer's apartment unperceived and read the letter over his shoulder. Snatching it out of

his hand, he tore it in pieces, and said very sternly: "No more fooleries, now!"

Those who had innocently suffered for his sake were not forgotten. The father of the unfortunate Katte was promoted to be field-marshal and created a count, and the other relations of his friend enjoyed the uninterrupted favour of the king. The faithful Duhan was recalled from exile, and Frederick provided for his comfort in the decline of life. Keith also returned to Berlin, and was appointed equerry and lieutenant-colonel in the army. The president von Münchow had been exposed, since Frederick's residence at Cüstrin, to many mortifications, for which he and his sons were now compensated by various tokens of favour.

As a proof of the punctuality with which Frederick discharged engagements made by him when prince-royal, if not too rudely reminded of them, the following anecdote is related: Mylius, ecclesiastical inspector at Fehrbellin, having found, among the papers of his deceased father, a promissory note, given to him by the prince for upwards of two thousand dollars, sent it to the king with a letter, saying that he had met with the enclosure among his father's papers, but, as he knew not whether his father had forgotten to destroy it, and he was not himself acquainted with any of the circumstances connected with it, he begged leave to place it at the king's disposal. Frederick replied: "I well remember having received the sum mentioned in the note; and if there is any mistake, it is right

that I should suffer and not another. I have therefore ordered the principal with interest to be paid you."

Wisdom, justice, and beneficence mark the first steps of the young sovereign in that career, in which he was destined to furnish a pattern for all princes. Concerning the manner in which Frederick expected the administration of his country to be conducted, he expressed his sentiments immediately after his accession, when the ministers of state waited upon him, on the 2nd of June, to take the oath of allegiance. His high-spirited declaration, which he adopted in fact as the rule of his life on this point, is to this effect: "Though," said he, addressing the ministers, "we sincerely thank you for the services you have rendered to the king our dearly beloved father, still it is not our intention that you should in future enrich us and oppress our poor subjects; but, on the contrary, that you shall feel bound, by virtue of this order, to attend with as much care to the welfare of the country as to our interest, since we wish no difference to be made between our own particular advantage and the advantage of the country, but that you should in all things keep the latter in view as much as the former; nay that you should prefer the advantage of the country to our particular advantage when the two are not to be reconciled." "Our chief care," said he to the Chambers, "will be to promote the prosperity of the country, and to make every one of our subjects contented and happy." Upon this

grand principle, he restored to the Lutherans the right to perform certain ceremonies in their divine service of which they had been deprived by a cabinet rescript in 1736; and forbade the suppression of the Catholic schools for soldiers' children in Berlin, with these memorable words: "All religions must be tolerated, and the fiscal must only see to it that none of them injures the others; for here every one must go to heaven his own way." On Whitsunday the 5th of June, the accession of the new sovereign was announced from the pulpits in Berlin. The king, in a suit of black, attended the reformed service in the cathedral in the forenoon, and in the afternoon he heard a sermon by provost Reinbeck in the Lutheran church of St. Peter.

The solicitude of the new sovereign for the welfare of his people was not confined to professions, but exhibited also in acts which could not fail to gain him universal attachment. An extraordinary dearth prevailed throughout the whole kingdom, for the long and intensely severe winter had caused apprehensions of the failure of the growing crops. The cries of the famishing poor soon reached the ears of the young monarch. On the second day of his reign, he ordered the granaries to be opened and the corn to be sold at very low prices. Where the stock was not sufficient, considerable sums were sent abroad to purchase grain for the like purpose. The game killed in the royal forests was also ordered to be disposed of at a low rate. Several

taxes that bore hard on the production of the necessaries of life were for a time abolished. Lastly, various sums saved by economy in the different departments of administration were distributed in specie among the necessitous. Thus we have a right to presume that the acclamations which greeted the young king whenever he appeared in public proceeded from the hearts of the people. But, even in the first days of his reign, Frederick earnestly set about devising efficient means for promoting the progressive prosperity of the country. Beneficent ordinances appeared for the improvement and increase of manufactures, and important advantages were granted to experienced workmen who should emigrate from foreign countries to the Prussian dominions.

The courts of justice needed a great reform. Frederick William I., on assuming the government, had indeed endeavoured to remedy the numberless abuses in the administration of justice by an entirely new system in 1713; but his attention was afterwards withdrawn from this important department in favour of the financial and military administration, in which he gave appointments to all clever men who were desirous to enter into the civil service. The places of judges were moreover to be bought with money; and owing to these causes the character of the courts sank very low. In this branch of his vocation, Frederick manifested the warmest zeal. On the 3rd of June the torture was abolished as inhuman, in all cases excepting

those of high treason or murders in which many delinquents, whose connexion it was necessary to discover, were implicated; but in those cases also it was suppressed in 1754. The king forbade women convicted of infanticide to be put into leathern sacks of their own making and drowned, as had hitherto been customary, and ordered that they should in future be beheaded. The practice of granting for money royal dispensations to marry was abolished; and where marriage was not positively forbidden in the word of God, all were to be at liberty to marry without dispensation and without fees.

Baron Pöllnitz was appointed by the young king to direct the funeral of his old master. The baron, a native of the electorate of Cologne, had when young squandered his fortune, and was afterwards supported by the deceased monarch, one of whose entertaining companions he was. A prepossessing exterior, a jovial disposition, and a cultivated mind caused his society to be sought after. Wit, humour, and pleasure, constituted the business of his life. His principles, as we have seen, were none of the strictest, and this was well known to Frederick, to whom he had rendered services since 1736, inasmuch as he brought him regularly reports from the court: but even then he was too sagacious to use him in any other way than as a tool. "Pöllnitz," he once said, "is an infamous fellow, and not to be trusted, entertaining at the dinner-table, but ought afterwards to be shut up." After his accession to

the throne the king several times paid his debts and at last by public proclamation forbade any one to trust him in future. In charging this man with the arrangements of his father's funeral, Frederick told him that he wished the ceremony to be performed with all due dignity and pomp, to procure everything requisite for the purpose and to hand the bills to him that he might order them to be paid. Pöllnitz retired to obey these commands, when the king, in his slippers, followed him to the head of the stairs which he was descending, and exclaimed: "But mind, no roguery, no swindling tricks! I should never forgive them, depend upon it."

The funeral, in a style conformable with the intentions of the new sovereign, took place on the 22nd of June. Frederick attended it as chief mourner, supported by the prince of Anhalt, and the duke of Holstein-Beck. The remains of his father were deposited in a vault in the chapel-royal at Potsdam; and all the arrangements minutely prescribed in his will were fulfilled, even to the quantity and quality of the wine to be given to those who should attend the ceremony.

The celebrated Potsdam regiment of grenadiers, which had been Frederick William's hobby during his whole reign, and the maintenance of which had cost that parsimonious sovereign about 300,000 dollars per annum, appeared for the last time on occasion of his funeral. It was then broken up; the pampered giants, some of whom received from

five to twenty dollars and more monthly in addition to the usual pay, were placed without distinction in the new regiments of guards. One battalion only, composed of the younger men of the regiment, kept alive for some time the remembrance of the whim of its founder at Potsdam; while the seniors, united into an invalid battalion, gradually died off at Acken on the Elbe, a poor little country town, far away from the flesh-pots of Egypt. In their stead was raised a new regiment of life-guards, composed of eighteen companies, the nucleus of which was formed of picked men belonging to the regiment hitherto known as the prince-royal's, and the first battalion of which was called the royal foot life guard: the other two battalions formed the regiment of the guard. The king also instituted a new garde du corps of one squadron, and gave it a silver eagle on a pole as an honorary distinction. To all the colours and standards of the army was added the black eagle with the sword in one claw and the sceptre in the other, together with the king's motto, which was engraved also upon his sword: "For Glory and for our Country." Seven entirely new regiments were moreover either raised or taken out of the service of other German princes into that of Prussia.

Though Frederick dissolved his father's giant-guard, yet, like every other martial prince, he valued tall and handsome soldiers, as may be seen from a cabinet order addressed on the 29th of January, 1744, to major-general count Dohna. "As," he

writes, "doubts and even disputes have formerly arisen among the regiments, as to the price that one officer should pay to another for a man according to his height, I hereby determine, once for all, that there shall be paid for a man of 6 feet 300 dollars; for one of 5 feet 11 inches, 200 dollars; for one of 5 feet 10 inches, 150 dollars; for one of 5 feet 9 inches, 100 dollars; for one of 5 feet 8 inches, 40 dollars; for one of 5 feet 7 inches, 20 to 24 dollars; for one of 5 feet 6 inches, 16 dollars—and no more." Such was then the value of an able-bodied soldier.

As the order *de la Générosité* had not always been given to worthy individuals, Frederick dissolved it and instituted in its place the order *pour le Mérite*. The adjutant-general Hacke was the first on whom it was conferred. This distinction was originally destined to reward merit in general. Thus Voltaire, Maupertuis, and Algarotti were invested with it; and it was worn by the minister Marschall, and Eckwricht, provincial councillor of the circle of Münsterburg in Silesia; but with these exceptions, it was not bestowed on any civilian. If the order of the Black Eagle was conferred on any of the members of the order of Merit, he had to send back the latter to the king.

So early as the sixth day after he ascended the throne, Frederick wrote with his own hand to provost Reinbeck, desiring him to try to prevail on Wolff, the celebrated philosopher to return to Prussia, adding, "a man who seeks and loves

truth must be highly esteemed in every human society; and believe that you will have made a conquest in the domain of truth, if you can persuade him to come." Thus Frederick acknowledged it as a most sacred duty to make amends for the injustice done during his father's reign, through priestly intrigue, to a philosopher who had been an ornament to the university of Halle. To his great satisfaction, Wolff accepted the invitation, and, invested with the dignity of vice-chancellor and the title of privy councillor, he again taught in the same place from which bigotry and intolerance had caused his expulsion.

The occupations of Frederick in the first weeks of his reign are well described and characterized by himself in letters to Voltaire. On the 12th of July he writes:

> . . . . . Not in the tranquil haunts,
> Of Science, not in Rheinsberg's bowers, where late
> The Muse her offerings would address to thee,
> Sings she these artless strains; for now, my friend,
> The poet and the sovereign meet in me.
> Now farewell Poesy, and farewell Music,
> Farewell all pleasures, and Voltaire himself!
> Henceforth my people and my duty be
> The god supreme I worship! Yet, what cares,
> What toils attend that duty! and a crown,
> How heavy weighs it on the wearer's brow!

In the same spirit he writes a fortnight later: "Since my father's death, I consider myself as belonging entirely to my country; and conformably with this sentiment I have laboured with all my might to carry into effect as expeditiously as pos-

sible measures conducive to the public welfare. In the first place, I have added to the military force of the state fifteen battalions, five squadrons of hussars, and one squadron of garde du corps, and laid the foundation of our new Academy. Wolff, Maupertuis, Vaucanson, and Algarotti I have already, and I am expecting answers from s'Gravesande and Euler. I have established a new department of commerce and manufactures, am now engaging painters and sculptors, and just setting out for Prussia to receive homage, without the sacred oil-flask, or any of those frivolous and useless ceremonies introduced by ignorance and sanctioned by custom. My way of life is not yet quite regular, for the faculty have thought fit to prescribe for me *ex officio* Pyrmont water. I rise about four, drink the water till eight, write till ten, exercise the regiments till twelve, write again till five, and seek recreation in the evening in good society. When I have done travelling, my mode of life will be more tranquil and regular. For the present, I have not only the usual current business to attend to, but also the new arrangements; and besides, I am obliged to receive many needless compliments, and to despatch circulars. What gives me most trouble, is the establishment of new magazines in all the provinces, which are to be so considerable as to hold corn sufficient for the consumption of the whole country for a year and a half."

What particularly distinguished the government of the new sovereign from that of other princes,

was the order and punctuality with which he discharged the duties of his station: to these all other considerations were subordinate. His activity was very great, because he was determined to see and to do everything himself, and not to have recourse to the aid of others, unless in things to which his own powers were inadequate. "Frederick," says a contemporary, who then enjoyed opportunities for observing him, "does everything himself, without consulting any minister, excepting Boden, minister of finance, who preaches economy, and is listened to more favourably than even during the preceding reign. M. Podewils, now the only person capable of duty in the department of foreign affairs, has nothing to do but to despatch cabinet orders. The other ministers are treated in the same manner." The writer complains that "it is extremely difficult, under such circumstances, to accomplish any particular diplomatic object, as there is no one possessing the king's confidence, and who might otherwise be gained."

About the middle of July, Frederick set out for Prussia to receive the homage of his subjects. The sermon on this occasion was delivered on the 17th of July by Quandt, chief chaplain to the king, who was so pleased with the preacher, that in one of his later works he calls him "the first orator of his time." The students of the university, on the following evening, gave him a serenade by torch-light: Egloffstein, their spokesman, was appointed captain in the army, and several others of noble birth

entered into the military service along with him. The magazines at Königsberg were thrown open to the poor, and 800,000 bushels of rye were bought up at any price for Pomerania. On the 20th of July, the ceremony of homage was solemnly performed; and in the evening medals to the amount of 50,000 dollars, inscribed "The Happiness of the People," were distributed. Frederick William had not thought fit to be crowned; and in like manner his successor disdained a ceremony which may well be dispensed with in hereditary monarchies.

On the king's return from Prussia, the act of doing homage was performed in Berlin on the 2nd of August, in the accustomed manner; a herald scattered gold and silver medals, with the motto, "For Truth and Justice." When, after the ceremony, Frederick appeared on the balcony of the palace, the people shouted, as with one voice, "Long live the king!" Contrary to custom and etiquette, he remained for half an hour on the balcony, looking stedfastly at the immense multitude before the palace, apparently absorbed in thought. On the same day the representatives of his majesty received the homage of the other provinces of the kingdom at Stettin, Magdeburg, and Halle.

Frederick William had been throughout his whole reign the dupe and tool of Austria, her ambassador, and his own ministers, who, as we have seen, were sold to the court of Vienna. Hence, though master of the best-disciplined army and a well-filled treasury, he was but the scoff of other princes; so

that a petty bishop piqued himself on insulting the king of Prussia, and even refused to receive ambassadors from him. To his successor he left the task of inspiring respect for the Prussian name, and enforcing the claims of his house to possessions of which it had been unjustly deprived.

Grasping the reins of government with vigorous hand, Frederick first closed all the usual avenues to the cabinet against spies and listeners; and then, having considered the position of the Prussian cabinet in regard to foreign powers, and duly weighed his own strength and resources, as well as the obstacles which he was likely to encounter, he chalked out for himself that bold, straightforward, and consistent line of politics from which he scarcely once deviated during his whole, long, and eventful career.

So early as the 19th of June, 1740, he addressed an urgent remonstrance to the elector of Mentz, exhorting him not to disturb the peace of the German empire, because the king was bound to support his ally, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in his quarrel with the elector. The latter had, in maintenance of his alleged sovereignty over the village of Rumpenheim, in Hanau-Münzenberg, taken possession of it with an armed force, and the contest seemed to threaten bloodshed. This first step of Frederick's in the field of politics is more memorable for its manner than for its importance. The elector recalled his troops, and settled the affair in an amicable way. It was as the protector of the

weaker, as the champion of the rights of the Germanic constitution,—such as we find him at the close of his career,—that he introduced himself to the princes of the empire.

To the bishop of Liege Frederick placed himself in more decided opposition, in maintenance of his own claims to the barony of Herstal, part of the Orange inheritance. Ever since the sixteenth century, the bishops of Liege had set up a claim, first to the paramount sovereignty, and afterwards to the full possession, of the lordships of Herstal and Hermal on the Meuse. During the minority of William I. of Orange, in 1546, and subsequently in 1655, when William III., afterwards king of England, had not attained his majority, those prelates had made compacts with other princes respecting the lordships in question, which Brandenburg, the heir to the Orange inheritance, was not bound to recognize. But the decision of this matter had been deferred ever since the time of Frederick I., and even an agreement concluded in 1732 by Prussia with the other heirs of Orange led to no result, because not only did the bishops persist in their claims, but the Herstalers themselves denied their subjection to Prussia, and refused to take the oath of allegiance. Being now required by Prussia to take that oath, the old animosity was rekindled: the Prussians, who had rendered themselves obnoxious by their recruiting system, found in this remote barony none but refractory subjects; and Frederick, in order to prevent any further attempts of the

bishops to excite sedition, found it necessary to send a detachment of his troops stationed in Westphalia, under the command of major-general Borcke, into the territories of Liege. The state of things was changed at once, for, notwithstanding the numerous manifestoes issued in vindication of the claims of Brandenburg, and though the last of them was written by Voltaire himself, so long as the bishop had hopes of finding support in the German diet at Ratisbon or in France and Holland, so long as the dagger was not pointed to his throat by the entrance of Prussian troops,—twelve grenadier companies and a squadron of dragoons had inundated his little territory,—so long he refused the acknowledgment of the clearest right. Then at last he came to a compromise, and paid to Prussia for the total cession of the barony 150,000 dollars, besides the costs of execution, which amounted to four louis-d'ors per day for each colonel, two for a major, one for a captain, one dollar sixteen groschen (about five shillings) for each subaltern, and eight groschen (a shilling) for each petty officer and private,—a procedure by which all the bickerings and wranglings of two centuries were amicably settled in the space of forty days. If Frederick could not earn laurels in a feud with a bishop, still he displayed consistent determination and a resolute prosecution of his right; while the emperor and empire preferred adhering to the old routine of endless formalities.

Frederick had long conceived a strong desire to

see Voltaire, the object of his warmest admiration as a writer and a poet, with whom he had kept up a brisk epistolary correspondence, and who had superintended the publication of his Anti-Machiavel. His recent letters had all touched upon a plan for meeting Voltaire at some place or other. At length, on the 15th of August, he set out accompanied by his eldest brother William and two aides-de-camp, colonels Borck and Stille and proceeded by way of Wittenberg and Leipzig to Bayreuth, where he passed a few happy days in the family circle of his sisters. Pursuing the same route as he had done with his father in 1730, the young monarch took it into his head to pay a visit to Strasburg. Bielefeld asserts that he intended to go to Paris, but this Frederick himself contradicts in a letter to Voltaire. From Frankfurt, he suddenly struck off, with his brother and a small retinue, by way of Cannstadt and Kehl for Strasburg, himself assuming the name of the Bohemian Count Desfours, and prince William that of count Schafgotsch. On their arrival at Kehl, the landlord of the hotel where they put up told Fredersdorf, the king's valet, that, as soon as they had crossed the bridge over the Rhine, they would have to produce their passports. Fredersdorf, thereupon, filled up a passport, laid it before the king for his signature, and sealed it with the royal arms. The landlord, from the adjoining room, saw with astonishment the process of signing and sealing, and as he was going out, said, he now knew that it was the king of Prussia

who lodged in his house. Denial would have been useless; the landlord's mouth was therefore stopped with gold; and he, in fact, did not betray the secret.

At Strasburg count Desfours alighted at the Holy Ghost, and count Schafgotsch at the Raven; hoping thus to preserve their incognito. They provided themselves immediately with a suit of clothes in the latest French fashion, and went in the evening to a coffee-house, where the king made acquaintance with several officers, whom he asked to sup with him. They accepted the invitation. Those gentlemen were highly astonished to find in the German count a man whose conversation abounded in wit, and who was not less entertaining than polite to them. During supper the conversation turned upon the French soldiery; the pretended count indulged in a joke upon it, which gave offence to an officer serving in that army. Presently, they were engaged in an altercation, which, owing to the warmth of the royal count, and the unacquaintance of his guests with his real rank, threatened an unpleasant termination. But one of the officers, a keener observer than the rest, had noticed the extraordinary respect paid to the supposed count by his companions; and the officiousness of an attendant page, who manifestly was such, had led him to conceive that their host must be a German prince. By gestures and whispers he contrived to moderate the vehemence of his comrades, and presently afterwards,

rising from table, they quitted the mysterious circle.

But Frederick's incognito was still more clearly seen through on the following day. On the parade he was recognized by a soldier who had formerly belonged to the Potsdam guard; and marshal de Broglio governor of Strasburg was immediately apprized of the presence of the illustrious traveller. The astonished governor, desirous to acquire a more decided certainty, sent a messenger to the hotel to invite the count and his companions to dine with him on the next day. He had the guardsman in readiness behind a glass door to take another survey of the stranger, and to satisfy himself that he had not been mistaken. The soldier confirmed his former report, on which Broglio, considering himself sure of his point, had the inadvertence, by redoubling his attentions, and by addressing his guest "Sire—Monsieur le Comte" —to betray his knowledge of his rank; and, though no one seemed to notice this, it had its effect upon the king and put him out of humour. "This marshal," he afterwards observed, "is a fool; he ought either to have respected my secret or to have treated me with the honours due to my station." On the third day, all Strasburg knew of the king's arrival. He inspected the citadel and the remarkable objects in the city. At night the populace made bonfires and shouted *Vive le Roi de Prusse!* The theatre was that evening crowded to excess: all the gentry of the place thronged to it in hopes

of seeing the king. Frederick, however, who disliked fuss, and who moreover felt symptoms of fever, a complaint from which he was not entirely free till the commencement of the war with Austria, resolved to proceed to Wesel as expeditiously as possible. Travelling by way of Landau, Limburg, and Coblentz, he arrived on the 28th of August at Cologne, and after a short rest went on to Wesel.

Here the other persons of his retinue, the prince and the hereditary prince of Anhalt, the duke of Holstein-Beck, Knobelsdorf, colonel Walrawe, count Hacke, Keyserling, and his cabinet councillors, Eichel and Schumacher were waiting for him—men, who, as we have seen, from former intimacy, or by distinguished services rendered to his father, had won his confidence. There too he was met by Algarotti and Maupertuis.

The special object of this tour was to receive the homage of his Westphalian dominions, and, this done, he hastened to the chateau of Moyland near Cleves to meet Voltaire, who was coming from Brussels. The account given by the latter of this interview, which took place on the 11th of September, is curious, but in his usual sarcastic manner.

"I went," says he, "to present my most respectful homage to the king. I found at the gate of the court-yard a single soldier on duty. Rambonet, minister of state, was walking about the court, and blowing his fingers to warm them. He wore large ruffles of dirty linen, a hat with holes

in it, and an old lawyer's wig, one tail of which reached to his pocket, while the other scarcely covered his shoulder. I was told that this man was charged with an important affair of state, which was true. I was conducted to his majesty's apartment, where there was nothing but the bare walls. I perceived in a closet, lighted by a single wax-candle, a small bed, two feet and a half wide, on which lay a little man wrapped in a cloak of coarse blue cloth: it was the king, who was shivering under a miserable coverlet, in a violent paroxysm of fever. I made my bow, and began the acquaintance by feeling his pulse, as if I had been his first physician. When the fit was over, he dressed himself and came to supper. Algarotti, Keyserling, Maupertuis, and the king's ambassador to the states-general, composed the party; and we talked learnedly about the immortality of the soul, liberty, and the Androgynes of Plato. Meanwhile, Rambonet mounted a post-horse, rode all night and arrived next day at the gates of Liege, where he served a notice in the name of the king his master; while 2000 troops from Wesel laid the city of Liege under contribution. The pretext for this expedition was a claim made by the king of certain rights over one of the suburbs. He even begged me to draw up a manifesto, and I made one as well as I could; not doubting that a king, with whom I had supped, and who called me his friend must be in the right. The affair was soon settled upon payment to the king of a million of ducats." The

cause of the quarrel between the king of Prussia and the bishop whom Frederick in a letter to Jordan calls "Monsieur de Liege," is misrepresented, perhaps wilfully, by Voltaire.

Frederick, filled with enthusiastic admiration of the prince of French poets, mentions this meeting in very different terms, in a letter addressed, on his return to Potsdam, to his "dearest" Jordan, who had been appointed inspector of police, and whom he therefore calls, "My very worthy inspector of paupers, invalids, orphans, idiots, and lunatics."—"I have seen Voltaire, whose personal acquaintance I have been so anxious to make; but just at the time I had the fever, and was debilitated both in mind and body. In the company of men of that stamp, one ought not to be ailing, but more hearty, and in higher spirits than usual. He is eloquent as Cicero, amiable as Pliny, wise as Agrippa; in short, he unites in his person all the virtues and talents of the three most eminent men of antiquity. His mind is in constant activity. Every drop of ink that flows from his pen turns to a bon-mot. He declaimed to us his exquisite tragedy Mahomet. He transported us, and I could only admire and be silent. With his words any one, without the trouble of thinking, if he has but memory, might write an excellent work. . . . . I am somewhat fatigued with the journey, but without having lost the fondness for chat. . . . . Written at the moment of my arrival. Think of that my friend; for I have worked, and shall continue to work, like a Turk or a Jordan."

From Moyland, Frederick proceeded, on the 14th of September, to Brunswick, and on the 20th attended at Salzdahlum the betrothal of his brother, Augustus William, to his sister-in-law, Louise Amelie, princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. On the 23d, he arrived at Potsdam, ill with fever. Thence he soon repaired to his beloved Rheinsberg, with the intention of passing part of the winter in that delightful retreat, and recruiting his impaired health. The queen's household and his own accompanied him. The margrave of Bayreuth, together with his consort, and the margravine of Anspach, were likewise there. On the days when he was free from fever, the lively monarch had music in his apartments, attended balls, and dined and supped with the family circle. He did not even disdain to hold a lodge in his rooms, and to receive his brother-in-law, the margrave of Bayreuth, into the fraternity of freemasons. But when the fever returned with gradually increasing violence, and prostrated Frederick's mind, all around him were dejected, and the palace was quiet and sad.

A sudden and unexpected event soon roused the suffering monarch from his couch, overthrew the plans of the pleasure-loving courtiers, and turned the tranquil abode of the illustrious patient into a bustling cabinet, in which the boldest projects were speedily matured. "I had risen early," says baron Bielefeld, "and was writing letters, when I heard a loud knocking at the door. To my astonishment, counts Truchses and Finckenstein, aides-

de-camp to the king, entered, with baron Pöllnitz. They were in full uniform, and appeared much agitated. They told me briefly that M. Borck, the Prussian ambassador at Vienna, had sent his valet as courier to the king, with the intelligence that the emperor, Charles VI., had died suddenly on the 20th of October, after eating heartily of a dish of mushrooms"—"which dish of mushrooms," observes Voltaire, "changed the destinies of Europe." —"They added," continues Bielefeld, "that the king was just then in a violent fever, and begged me to dress immediately and go with them to the palace, to consult how the arrival of the courier was to be broken to the king, whose naturally lively mind was excited to the highest degree by his complaint. The news was by no means indifferent to me; I foresaw many changes, and not without sorrow, I confess, the extinction of the house of Austria, which, for five centuries, since the time of Rudolph of Habsburg, had given Germany sixteen emperors: their last descendants were the archduchesses Maria Theresa and Mariane, the union of the former of whom with Francis of Lorraine had as yet produced no issue. While I was dressing, Jordan came in. He was still more uneasy than the others. We hastened to the palace. In the preceding year, the greatest part of Rheinsberg had been destroyed by fire. We crossed the market-place, where many spots were still covered with ruins. 'Before we have another emperor,' exclaimed Finckenstein, 'many a hat will be seen without head, and many a town

in the same state as this!'"—It is remarkable that Finckenstein himself was one of the first who fell before Frederick's face at Mollwitz.—"Amidst such expressions, we reached the king's ante-chamber, where we found prince William, Fredersdorf, and the courier. We agreed not to acquaint the king with the news till the fit was over; and, an hour afterwards, Fredersdorf went in to prepare him for it. The king manifested no outward signs of what he felt; but he rose, sent immediately for the cabinet-secretary Eichel, and ordered him to summon the immediate attendance of marshal Schwerin, and M. Podewils, minister for foreign affairs at Rheinsberg."—Long and private audiences with these men indicated to those about the king that something extraordinary was in agitation. A general and mysterious bustle and activity prevailed among the superior officers of state, and more especially among the military. The regiments were immediately placed on the war establishment; magazines were formed at Frankfurt on the Oder and at Crossen; the artillery was augmented; and the king, after his return to Berlin, frequently assembled the generals around him. It was no longer time for Frederick to wait in inactive repose for the fever to take its course. Contrary to the advice of his physicians he took bark; after two or three more slight attacks, the fever left him, to the astonishment of the doctors, who, having witnessed the efficacy of that remedy, thenceforward frequently

prescribed it; and in a few days he was actively engaged in carrying his bold plans into execution.

On the 28th of October, he thus wrote to Algarotti:—"Such a trifle as the death of the emperor demands no great efforts. Everything has been foreseen, everything prepared: so there is nothing to do but to carry into execution those plans which I have long been revolving in my head."—To Voltaire he writes:—"The death of the emperor overturns all my peaceful ideas. I dare say that in the month of June there will be more talk about powder, soldiers, and trenches, than about actresses, ballet, and theatre. The moment for an entire change of political system is arrived. The stone is launched which will fall upon Nebuchadnezzar's image of gold, silver, brass, and iron, and dash it in pieces."

Very shortly afterwards, Voltaire made his appearance in Berlin, as a sort of spy of the French court; but he had not the art to conceal that character from the king, who instantly saw through it. He made out such an exorbitant account against Frederick, that the latter, writing on the 28th of November, to Jordan, thus expresses himself:—"Your miserly Voltaire is to drink the dregs of his insatiable cupidity, and to get 1300 dollars besides. Each of the six days that he has shown himself costs me 550 dollars. This I call paying a *fou* at a dear rate—certainly the court-fool of no great personage ever received such pay." But though the king was wholly undeceived in regard to Voltaire, still he

invited him to come again to Berlin, not out of personal esteem, but to profit by his talents. Thus, too, he wrote some years afterwards to Algarotti: —"I have need of him for the study of the French language; one may learn useful things even from a villain. I wish to learn his French; what are his morals to me!"

We now see Frederick on the threshold of events, the weight of which might have crushed a prince great in mind but poor in territory, not hesitating for an instant what course to pursue. He passes the Rubicon and flings down the gauntlet at the most propitious moment for attaining the summit of his ambition, the complete enforcement of the long-scorned claims of Brandenburg.

How largely the thirst of glory contributed to these resolutions is confessed by the king himself, who says, in the History of his own Time: "When Frederick I. raised Prussia to a kingdom, he sowed, by means of this vanity, in his descendants a germ of glory that could not fail sooner or later to spring up and produce fruit. The monarchy which he left to his posterity was a sort of hermaphrodite, but more electorate than kingdom. There was some glory in giving to it a more decided nature, and this feeling was certainly one of those that encouraged the king in the great enterprizes for which so much occasion already existed." To Voltaire, he wrote:—"Such are my occupations, which I would gladly resign to another, did not the phantom glory so often appear to me. It is indeed a

great folly, but one that a man cannot get rid of, when he is once possessed with it."

In a letter to Jordan, he assigns a similar motive for going to war:—"My youth, the fire of passion, desire of glory, nay, to tell the truth, curiosity, and an inward impulse, have roused me from my sweet repose, and the pleasure of seeing my name in the newspapers and hereafter in history has seduced me."

CHAPTER XVI.

The Emperor Charles VI. and the Pragmatic Sanction.—Claims of Prussia to territories in Silesia.—Bad Faith of Austria towards the Sovereigns of Brandenburg.—Situation of Maria Theresa.—Political State of Europe.—Treaty with Russia.—Marquis di Botta.—Terms offered by Frederick to the Queen of Hungary.—His Address to his Officers.—Ball in Berlin.—The King joins the Army and enters Silesia.—Breslau surrenders to him.—Siege of Neisse.—Return of the King to Berlin.—Frederick allies himself with France and Sweden.—He rejoins the Army in Silesia.—Narrowly escapes being taken prisoner.—Operations of Neipperg and the Austrians.—Reduction of Glogau.—Battle of Mollwitz.—A Reconnaissance.—The Tall Gray.—Misfortunes of Maupertuis.

THE emperor Charles VI., who married the princess Elisabeth Christine of Brunswick, having no prospect of issue by her after a union of four years, set aside the ancient law of succession observed in his family, and in 1713 established a new one, known in history by the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. The succession to the Austrian dominions had previously been limited to male descendants and relatives: according to the new regulation, in case of Charles's death without male heir, the undivided monarchy was to devolve first to his own daughters; if they should not be living, to the daughters of his elder brother Joseph, the electresses of Saxony and Bavaria; and so on always to the nearest relatives. It had been the grand object of the latter years of the emperor's life

to obtain, not only from the great but also from the secondary powers of Europe, the acknowledgment and guarantee of this arrangement by persuasion, favours, sacrifices, and intrigues: though prince Eugene shortly before his death, had pointed out to him the insufficiency of such guarantees, and told him that, if he would consult the security of his heirs, he had much better leave them an army of 200,000 men and a full treasury. Of this Charles himself might have been fully aware, for the mere publication of the Pragmatic Sanction in 1724 had excited the discontent of those princes whose rights it invaded; while Prussia, induced by the promise of the reversion of Juliers to engage by the treaty of Wusterhausen in 1728 to support his last will by force of arms, had expressly stipulated that this treaty should be null and void in case the house of Neuburg, to which Juliers and Berg belonged, should on its extinction bequeath its possessions to that of Sulzbach. The emperor, nevertheless, by a treaty concluded in January 1739, assured the possession of Juliers and Berg to the house of Sulzbach, and France undertook the guarantee against Prussia.

It was not, however, to assert his rights in this quarter that Frederick resolved upon war. He was too sagacious a politician not to perceive the imprudence of drawing upon himself so dangerous a foe as France for such a trifling an accession of territory, and situated at such a distance from the heart of his kingdom. His house had other claims

upon possessions much nearer home, unjustly withheld from it by Austria. These were the duchies of Jägerndorff, Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, in Silesia.

Joachim Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, in 1606, assigned the principality of Jägerndorff, by way of appanage, to his younger son John George, of course upon condition that this portion of the possessions of the house of Brandenburg should revert to it. But when John George, as an ally of Frederick V., elector-palatine, was put to the ban of the empire by Ferdinand II., Austria gave the investiture of his duchy to the princes of Lichtenstein, and Brandenburg had hitherto in vain demanded restitution of its legitimate property.

The princes of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, once independent sovereigns, had voluntarily placed themselves under the supremacy of the kings of Bohemia, reserving the right to dispose of their possessions as they pleased. This right they exercised in 1537 to make a family compact with Brandenburg, assuring to the latter the reversion of all their territories: but, in spite of this compact, Austria took possession of them, on the extinction of the house of Leignitz in 1675. Brandenburg remonstrated; the emperor alleged the war as a pretext for retaining those districts, for which he offered a sum of money; and as he needed the aid of the Great Elector in his war with the Turks, he ceded to the latter by treaty in 1686 the circle of Schwiebus in the principality of Glogau, together with the Lichtenstein claims on the lordships of

Esen and Wittmund in East Friesland. This small compensation for the Silesian duchies Frederick William made up his mind to accept rather than not obtain anything. But the treaty itself was a mere blind; for, before it was signed by the contracting parties, the imperial ambassador, by threats, intimidation, and intrigue, induced the electoral prince to enter into an engagement to restore Schwiebus to Austria, after his father's death, and bound him not to consult any person whatever on the subject.

The Great Elector, having done so much for Austria, naturally expected some return. He was desirous to retain Hither Pomerania, which he had occupied during his hostilities with Sweden, but was decidedly opposed by the court of Vienna. One of its ministers insolently declared that "his emperor would not suffer Brandenburg to keep Pomerania, and so let a new king of the Vandals spring up on the shores of the Baltic." Frederick William was, in consequence, obliged to give up all Hither Pomerania to Sweden, but he prophetically exclaimed: "An avenger will arise out of my ashes!"

On his death the imperial court did not fail to demand the restitution of Schwiebus from his successor. The elector declared at first that "as he had been completely duped, he was determined not to fulfil the engagement which he had given, be the consequence what it might: because it was a point in which his honour, duty, and conscience

were interested, and he would not have the character of wantonly throwing away without cause and necessity districts which his father had added to his dominions." Austria then threatened to employ force, and when Frederick's minister asked if he was prepared for that extremity, he reluctantly complied with the emperor's demand. "I must and will keep my word," said he to his ministers; "but I leave to my successors the assertion of their rights in Silesia. If God and the times produce no change of circumstances, we must be content; but if he decrees otherwise, my successors will know what they ought to do or not to do." We have seen that Frederick William I. also looked forward to an avenger of his grievances upon the house of Austria; and there can be no doubt that these expressed anticipations of father, grandfather, and great grandfather, operated powerfully upon a mind already panting for military glory.

On the death of Charles VI., his eldest daughter Maria Theresa, born in 1717, became sovereign of the Austrian dominions, and she appointed her husband, Francis Stephen, grand-duke of Tuscany, co-regent. She ascended the throne under no very enviable circumstances. "The court of Vienna," says Frederick himself, "was, after the death of the emperor, in an untoward situation. The finances were in disorder, the army broken up and disheartened by the ill-success of the war with Turkey, the ministers at variance—at the same time the throne was occupied by a young and inexperienced

princess, who had to defend a disputed succession. One might therefore almost assume it as a certainty that such a government was not to be feared. Besides, it was scarcely to be supposed that the king would not find allies. The rivalry between France and England necessarily secured to the king one or the other of those powers, and all who preferred claims to the Austrian succession would of course attach themselves to Prussia. The king had as elector a voice in the disposal of the imperial crown; in regard to his claims upon Berg, he could come to an understanding either with France or Austria; and in short, the war in Silesia was the only offensive side that was favoured by the position of his dominions, because he would be near his own frontiers, and the Oder would always afford him a safe communication."

An event favourable to Frederick's enterprize was the death of the Russian empress Anne, whose paramour the duke of Courland, the virtual sovereign of Russia, was in the interest of the court of Vienna. The crown now devolved to young Ivan, the son of prince Antony Ulric of Brunswick, Frederick's brother-in-law, by a princess of Mecklenburg. The duke of Courland had been appointed by the late empress regent during the minority of her successor; but he was soon dispossessed of that situation by count Münnich, whose wife's daughter was married to major Winterfeld, a distinguished officer of the Prussian army. Frederick had the sagacity to turn these circumstances to good

account. He despatched Winterfeld to Petersburg to secure the friendship of the Russian court; and his envoy executed his commission with such success that, on the 27th of December, a defensive treaty was concluded between Russia and Prussia, by virtue of which either party engaged to furnish the other with an auxiliary force of 12,000 men.

Hans Charles Winterfeld, born in 1707, was the son of a country gentleman of very ancient family in Hither Pomerania. Exercise in the open air and rural sports and occupations gave him early that strong constitution which is indispensable for the soldier. The instruction which he received from a private tutor rendered him as conversant with the Bible as Frederick the Great himself was. He afterwards went to the grammar-school of Güstrow, but at the early age of fourteen exchanged his studies for the military profession, for which he had a particular predilection. He commenced his career as a page in a cuirassier regiment at Königsberg in Prussia, was appointed cornet, and as such attracted at a review the notice of Frederick William by his tall and handsome figure. His fortune was now made; the king promoted him to lieutenant in the corps of the grenadier guard; and he soon took a liking to him not merely on account of his personal advantages, but also for his spirit and prudence; and, that he might see him every day, he appointed him adjutant of his own regiment, and honoured him with his confidence. If we consider the many contradictory qualities which distinguished the king,

we shall be forced to admire the talent of young Winterfeld in securing his good graces.

The fame of the Prussian military regulations had by this time penetrated into Russia, and Anne, regent and afterwards empress, was desirous, at the instigation of field-marshal count Münnich, to introduce the Prussian discipline. She therefore solicited the king to send her a number of subalterns, offering to present him in return with eight hundred tall men for his giant regiment. This proposal was in every respect the greatest flattery that could be addressed to the king: he sent the subalterns, and Winterfeld was directed to accompany and to present them. An aunt of Winterfeld's was at this time the third wife of count Münnich; hence this mission of that officer was in its turn flattering to the then all-powerful Russian minister. He soon conceived a passion for Juliane von Maltzahn, Münnich's step-daughter, who was maid of honour to the grand-duchess, afterwards empress, Elisabeth. His suit, accepted by the lady, was approved by all her relatives, and also by the king.

On his return to Berlin, Winterfeld made himself more and more useful to Frederick William, so that he could not bear him to be long absent. It was the king's wish that he should gain the favour of the prince-royal also, and he hoped by means of so excellent an officer to operate beneficially upon his son. It was another difficult problem for Winterfeld to serve both parties, differing so widely in sentiments and disposition, and yet to maintain the

character of a man of honour. But this problem too he contrived to solve. He accompanied the prince-royal in the campaign on the Upper Rhine in 1734, where both acquired their first practical notions of war, and then returned to the king, to whom, especially on his tours, he had become an indispensable companion.

No sooner had Frederick ascended the throne than he treated Winterfeld with the like distinction. He appointed three flügel aides-de-camp with the rank of majors: Winterfeld was the first of them, and he promoted him at once from lieutenant to staff-officer. "Frederick," says Winterfeld's biographer, Varnhagen von der Ense, "had discovered that any commission whatever might be entrusted to the ardent mind, the superior understanding, the resolution and energy, as well as the unbounded zeal, and personal devotion of this young officer." On his return from his embassy to Petersburg, he joined the Prussian army near Glogau and there gathered his first military laurels; we shall find him, henceforward, occupying a place among its most distinguished leaders.

In Prussia, in the army and even at court, many shook their heads in disapprobation of the precipitate preparations for war. The old Dessauer, the creator and trainer of the superb grenadiers, and who had grown gray in the Prussian service, conceived it to be the more necessary to give his advice in this perilous crisis, because he had not been invited to Frederick's consultations with marshal

Schwerin, and because, as a prince of the empire, he still cherished that respect for Austria which he had been accustomed to pay to the head of the Germanic body. The young monarch, in the conscious superiority of his own powers, declined the unsolicited advice.

As soon as the drift of Frederick's warlike preparations began to be suspected in Berlin, the Austrian ambassador there communicated his apprehensions to his court. At Vienna, however, it was deemed absurd, nay unnatural, that her imperial majesty should be attacked by the subordinate ruler, as her ministers considered him, of Brandenburg. The council of state therefore wrote back to the ambassador that they could not give the least credit to his report. But, by way of supererogatory precaution, they despatched the marquis di Botta, a wily Italian, to Berlin, to congratulate Frederick on his accession, and at the same time to gain information concerning his plans; but he could draw nothing from the king. Turning the conversation to his journey from Vienna to Berlin, he represented the roads in Silesia as intolerably bad, and asserted that they were so flooded as to be almost impassable even for single travellers. "Why then," rejoined Frederick carelessly, "the worst that can befal a traveller is that he will get splashed with mud."

It was not till his equipments were completed that Frederick communicated his designs to the marquis without the least reserve, and at the same time told him by what means the storm might be

averted, and the former good understanding preserved and strengthened. "Sire," replied Botta, wholly evading the main point, "you may perhaps ruin the house of Austria, but yourself you will ruin to a certainty." "It depends entirely on the queen," rejoined Frederick, "to accept the terms that I propose." Botta, recovering meanwhile from his surprise, strove to excite in the king's mind misgivings which were felt even in Berlin, where his enterprize was looked upon by many as foolhardy. "Your troops," said he, "are fine, it is true: our's do not look so well, but they have stood fire." "You think my troops fine," retorted the king; "I will make you acknowledge that they are brave."

Frederick issued no manifesto, according to the usual custom of belligerent powers, but, for form's sake, despatched count Gotter to Vienna to assure the queen that he would assist her with his whole force against all enemies who should attack the order of succession, conclude an alliance with Austria, Russia, and the maritime powers for the maintenance of her dominions, advance her two millions of florins, and vote for her husband the grand-duke of Tuscany, at the approaching election of emperor; but in return he demanded satisfaction of his claims upon Silesia. If there was the least hesitation to comply with this demand, Gotter had orders to declare war immediately.

Frederick was too well acquainted with the arrogance and self-delusion prevailing at Vienna to

37861

imagine that his proposals would be listened to: he therefore lost no time, but set his army in motion. Calling together the officers of the garrison of Berlin, he thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I am entering upon a war, in which I have no other allies but your valour and your zeal. My cause is just, and I look to fortune to befriend me. Bear in mind the glory acquired by your forefathers in the plains of Warsaw, at Fehrbellin, and in the expedition to Prussia. Your fate is in your own hands. Honours and rewards are only waiting to be earned by brilliant achievements. But I have no need to excite you to aspire to glory: you have that alone in view; it is the only worthy object of your efforts. We are going to confront troops, who, under prince Eugene, enjoyed the highest reputation. That commander, indeed, is no more; but our glory in conquering will be the greater, as we shall have to measure our strength with brave soldiers. Farewell. Set out. I shall presently follow you to the rendezvous of honour that awaits us."

On the evening before his departure from Berlin, Frederick was to be found where few would have thought of seeking him, enjoying the amusements of his court. He was at one of those assemblies, at which the company appear in domino without mask, and for above an hour he was standing at a window with the English ambassador, closely engaged in conversation on the *arcana* of politics. A moment afterwards he plucked Bielefeld, who had come to dance, by the domino, and led him aside. "Well

Bielefeld," said he, "are you ready to start?" or, to use his own expression—"*vos bottes sont-elles graissées?*" He then charged him with a mission to England about which he was to lose no time; and early next morning, the 13th of December, while the young councillor of legation was applying to the minister for instructions, the king set out to follow his army with his aides-de-camp count Wartensleben, Borck, and Goltz. On the 14th he overtook the troops at Crossen, and that same day the old crazy belfry of the church tumbled down. As Frederick's enterprize was universally considered foolhardy, this event was regarded as a sinister omen, and as portending disaster to Prussia. "Why," said the king, when he was informed of these superstitious apprehensions, "it means the very reverse; the high—that is Austria—shall be abased." On the 16th, 28,000 Prussians were in Silesia. By this time Gotter had scarcely reached Vienna, where, as Frederick had foreseen, his overtures were rejected by the Austrian cabinet with supreme disdain.

In a manifesto, dated Berlin the 1st of December, which was now circulated and published in all the newspapers, Frederick declared that his army had not come to Silesia with any hostile intention, but to occupy the duchy as the bulwark of the Prussian dominions; that all the inhabitants, of what religion and condition soever, should be protected in all their rights, privileges, liberties, and immunities; and that he should maintain such discipline among his troops, that no person should

be molested by them, much less disturbed in the possession of his property. Silesia, mostly Protestant, received the Prussian sovereign with joy, and in many places he was hailed as a deliverer. Any opposition from regular troops was out of the question; for, besides the garrisons in the three fortified towns of Glogau, Brieg, and Neisse, Austria had in Silesia only some battalions and a few dragoons and hussars, whom count Browne, the general commanding there, an excellent soldier, sprung from an Irish family, collected about him, but with whom he had scarcely 3000 men to meet the Prussian army.

Frederick first marched against the feebly garrisoned fortress of Glogau, which he began to blockade on the 23rd of December. On the 28th, leaving behind a blockading corps, he hastened away with his gens d'armes, five squadrons of dragoons, and twenty companies of grenadiers, for Breslau, that he might gain possession of that capital before the Austrians. In the last hours of 1740, he was at the gates of Breslau, and, taking up his quarters in the Schweidnitz suburb, he summoned the city to surrender. As it was not provisioned, the ditch frozen, an assault to be apprehended, and the greater part of the inhabitants belonging to the Lutheran confession, all resistance appeared useless; the magistrates entered into a convention and opened the gates to the king. Breslau, a large and ancient city, enjoyed at that time many privileges and a great degree of independence: it governed and pro-

tected itself, and was not required to admit an imperial garrison. By the convention of the 2nd of January 1741, Frederick ensured to it the possession of these privileges, and on the following day made his entry into the city, accompanied only by his retinue and an escort of thirty gens d'armes. Such a king as this had never been seen there. He won the hearts of all classes. He was what would now-a-days be called a citizen-king, an unheard of phenomenon a century ago. In Germany he certainly furnished the first example of a popular sovereign. He conversed with equal affability with high and low, and himself opened a ball that he gave with the handsomest ladies of the company. In short he here celebrated the most gratifying victory that can crown a conqueror.

While the left wing of his army had followed Frederick, marshal Schwerin with the right, keeping close to the mountains of Bohemia, had advanced to Neisse. Detaching major-general Jeetz with four battalions and three squadrons, across the Oder, to reduce the country on the Polish frontier, the king himself moved on the 6th to Ohlau, the commandant of which did not expect a serious attack, and evacuated the place, which was of considerable strength, on the 9th. Brieg, which had a garrison of 1200 men, was first invested and then blockaded by general Kleist. While Frederick was thus reducing or blockading the fortresses on the Oder, Schwerin had on the 8th fallen in with the imperialists in the vicinity of Ottmachau, driven them back

to that place, and, as the king here formed a junction with him, reduced the town with little expenditure of ammunition. Youthful exultation filled the bosom of Frederick at these successes, not indeed acquired with difficulty, but yet the result of his own energy. On the 14th he wrote to his friend Jordan: "My dear Mr. Jordan, my sweet Mr. Jordan, my gentle Mr. Jordan, my kind, my mild, my peace-loving, my most agreeable Mr. Jordan, I acquaint your serenity that Silesia is as good as conquered, and that Neisse is already bombarded. I prepare you for most important plans, and announce to you the greatest luck that the womb of Fortune ever produced. For the present this must be enough for you. Be my Cicero in defending my enterprize; in its execution I will be your Cæsar."

The army was now before Neisse and preparing to attack that very strong fortress. It is situated beyond the river of the same name, is fortified by a good rampart of earth, and by a ditch with seven feet water, but surrounded by a level swamp, which the brave commandant, colonel Roth, had inundated. A sufficient garrison defended the ramparts, and the resolution of the commandant had been proved by his defence of Ratscha in the war with Turkey. A formal siege was out of the question, on account of the advanced season of the year, and Roth had rendered it impossible to take it by storm; for every morning he caused the ice in the ditch to be broken up and poured water down the wall, which froze immediately; while beams and scythes

were so placed about the bastions and curtains as to repel assailants. Twelve hundred bombs and three thousand red-hot balls were poured for three days into the town, upon the pretext that, contrary to the usage of war, a Prussian flag of truce had been fired at by the fortress, but in reality in the hope of deciding its more speedy surrender.

With the like ill success colonel Camas had endeavoured to surprize the mountain-fortress of Glatz; and Schwerin alone in the open field drove back the feeble Austrians beyond Jägerndorf and Troppau to Moravia. Here he levied contributions, and took his position behind the Oppa, extending himself to Jablunka on the frontier of Hungary.

If in these operations the Prussians had gathered no laurels, owing to the weakness of the enemy, and before the fortresses on account of the season of the year, still Frederick had by bold marches put himself in possession of the country, which he was determined to keep. Brieg was blockaded by Kleist, Glogau by Leopold, hereditary prince of Dessau, Neisse by the king's division; and, while the other troops went into winter-quarters, Frederick returned to Berlin, where he arrived on the 26th of January.

Frederick had now, besides attending to the duties of government as he had hitherto done, to maintain his position in regard to other states, to procure allies by diplomatic means, and to prevent the interference of dangerous powers. The result

showed that he had judged correctly of the course which individual states were likely to pursue. Austria, under the guidance of the vain count Kinsky, was not to be induced by the king's success thus far to accept his offers; on the contrary, she expected, in the spring, after completing her armaments, to wipe away the disgrace, which appeared the more ignominious as being inflicted by a sovereign occupying a position at that time wholly unimportant; one whose duty it was, as arch-chamberlain of the holy Roman empire, to hold his imperial majesty's wash-hand basin, and who now had the presumption to prescribe laws to the daughter of an emperor! The cabinet of Vienna endeavoured, meanwhile, to refute, in manifestoes the king's claims to Silesia, and called upon foreign powers for assistance against the ambition of the audacious invader.

Instead of obtaining help, Maria Theresa saw new enemies arising against her. The elector of Bavaria, who was married to a daughter of the emperor Joseph I., founded a claim to the Austrian dominions on a will of Ferdinand I.; and faithless France was disposed to an alliance with Frederick; cardinal Fleury having invalidated his former guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by the evasion—"without prejudice to the rights of third persons"—in favour of Bavaria. The truth was that, because England, adhering to her word, promised assistance to the high-spirited queen of Hungary, the jealousy of France urged the latter to join the

adverse ranks; and thus she decided the part of Sweden, which had long been her political satellite. But this closer connexion of the Prussian cabinet with France and Sweden dissolved as speedily its alliance with Russia and led to the fall of Münnich. Frederick himself relates in the History of his Times what share an intrigue of the regent's had in dissolving the coalition with Russia; and, had not his influence been annihilated by a revolution, he continues, "the passion for Prussia might have proved as disastrous as that of Paris for the fair Helen was to Troy." Frederick, indeed, had not much to fear from England and Saxony, which alone renewed their alliance with Maria Theresa, because they were so dilatory in their equipments; and the latter, moreover, had not the means of carrying on war without the assistance of Poland. He nevertheless collected, near Brandenburg, a corps of observation, under the command of count Katte, and after his death of the prince of Anhalt, which encamped between the villages of Göttin and Krahne, near Brandenburg, on the Havel, and was ready at any moment to enter Hanover or Saxony. Having reinforced his army in Silesia during his brief absence, he set out on the 19th of February to rejoin it.

Before any thing serious could take place, and while hostilities were confined to skirmishes of advanced posts, in which the Austrian hussars are admitted by the king to have been far superior to the Prussian cavalry, he had a narrow escape from

a personal danger, concerning which he thus expresses himself: "It was an indiscretion in a sovereign to venture so far without a stronger escort. Had the king been taken on this occasion, the war would have been at an end, the Austrians would have conquered without striking a blow, the unrivalled Prussian infantry would have been useless, and all those plans of aggrandizement which the king thought to execute would have been frustrated."

On the 27th of February, the king rode from Schweidnitz to Frankenstein, to inspect two advanced posts, pushed forward into the mountain defiles by general Derschau, and to reconnoitre the enemy. No sooner had Frederick set out with his aide-de-camp, captain Glasenapp, than some traitor communicated the circumstance to the Austrians. They, of course, could not let slip this opportunity of terminating the war by a single *coup de main;* a strong detachment of cavalry was therefore sent, not only against those posts but also between them, to intercept the unsuspecting monarch on his return. This detachment fell in, four or five miles before it reached the mountains, with a division of Prussian dragoons, on its march to Wartha; and the Austrians, concluding this to be the king's escort, fell upon the Prussians so furiously that they put them to the rout and took forty horses. Frederick himself relates that, on hearing the report of small arms, he had inconsiderately put himself at the head of a division of the troops posted at War-

tha, and hastened to the assistance of the dragoons, but arrived too late at the field of battle. Glasenapp was made prisoner: of the manner in which the king escaped we have no authentic account. A romantic story is indeed told of his having been saved from the search of the Hungarian hussars in the neighbouring Cistertian convent of Kamentz; but this statement has been contradicted by Rödenbeck in his Diary, though Preuss, one of the most recent as well as one of the most trustworthy of the biographers of the great king, has not hesitated to vindicate its accuracy. I shall therefore give it as I find it.

Frederick, having finished his reconnoissance, resolved to pay a visit to the Cistertian convent of Camentz, where he expected to have a good view of the mountain ravines and over the valley of the river Neisse. Tobias Stusche, the abbot, received the king and his aide-de-camp with great respect. He conducted them over the house, unknown to the monks, who were in their cells. Meanwhile a detachment of Hungarian hussars, sent expressly to intercept the king, approached the convent in search of him. The abbot, with great presence of mind, put on his pontifical habit, and ordered the bell to be rung to summon the monks to mass in the church. Before the monks could recover from their astonishment at being called together at a very unusual time, their superior entered, accompanied by a young ecclesiastic in the dress of an abbot. Both went up to the altar, knelt down, and the mass began. A

prodigious noise presently arose in the convent. The Austrian hussars, after searching there, proceeded to the church. Awed into devotion by the solemn service that was performing, the rude soldiers, who a few moments, before had been intent only on revenge and bloodshed, durst not disturb the holy office, which proceeded without interruption. The intruders had long retired, when Stusche gave a signal for the chanting to cease; and the monks learned with surprize that the Croats had come in search of the king of Prussia, but that they had only found his aide-de-camp and carried him off with them. The reader need not be told that the strange abbot was no other than Frederick himself.

It is related, in corroboration of this account, that Stusche was ever afterwards an object of the especial favour of the king, who subsequently gave him the richest prelacy in the duchy—the abbey of Leubus. Among the papers left by Stusche, at his death, were found several autograph letters of the king's. On the 22nd of May 1742, he writes: "I have received your congratulations on account of the victory over my enemies that has been again granted to me by the Most High. As I am persuaded of the sincerity of the sentiments you express, so you may be assured that I have you constantly in gracious remembrance, that I am glad you are well; and that it will give me pleasure, if, as I shall soon be in Breslau, you would then come thither." To a letter from Potsdam, dated January

5th 1746, the thankful monarch added with his own hand: "I fulfil my vow, and send you porcelain, Champagne, and fine stuffs for officiating in." On another occasion, he says: "I shall soon call at Camentz: when I go to Berlin, you must visit me there." Nay, he is said to have manifested his gratitude to the convent also. Not only did he confirm beforehand every new abbot elected by the monks, but granted their requests, and was delighted whenever he had an opportunity of talking with one of them. "Tell the first of your fraternity that dies," he once said to the superior, "to greet abbot Stusche from me in eternity;" and on his birthday he caused a solemn mass to be performed for him, at the same time making a handsome present to the abbey.

According to Dr. Kugler's yet unfinished "History of Frederick the Great," the "fine stuffs" mentioned by the king in one of his letters were a dress for saying mass in. The abbot had a Prussian eagle embroidered upon this dress and consecrated it on Frederick's next birthday at a solemn mass. This pontifical habit, adds the writer, is still preserved at Camentz, and an inscription in the church commemorates the danger and the deliverance of the king.

It is not at all surprizing that of such a man as Frederick hundreds of stories should be circulated, which, though they cannot be positively denied, yet cannot be traced to any authentic source. Concerning the affair in question, he thus writes to Jordan: "I have just escaped with a black eye from a great

swarm of hussars, who had like to have surrounded and made us prisoners. Without boasting, I may say, my trifle of cleverness helped me out of the scrape."

The Austrians had collected at Olmütz an army of 25,000 men, under the command of marshal count Neipperg. This experienced warrior of Eugene's school had been in the service ever since 1702, and distinguished himself at Temeswar, Belgrade, Guastalla, Cornea, and Dettingen, but had been rewarded by confinement in a fortress for having, as it was alleged, exceeded his instructions in concluding the treaty of Belgrade. Having been released on the death of Charles VI., he was again placed, in the present emergency, at the head of an army. He advanced with it into Upper Silesia, evidently with the intention of getting between Frederick and Schwerin, and raising the blockade of Neisse. At the same time, he detached general Lentulus to Glatz, partly for the purpose of amusing Frederick, partly to occupy the mountain passes and thereby to cover Bohemia. It was not till the plans of the Austrian commander were more clearly developed that Frederick concentrated his force, which, as he acknowledges himself, he ought to have done before, "but the king was then inexperienced, for it was in reality his first campaign." The hereditary prince of Anhalt was immediately ordered to storm the fortress of Glogau. As much depended on the success of this enterprize, Leopold neglected no means for stimulating the courage of

his men. In the afternoon of the 8th of March, the prince personally allotted its position to each division of the troops, and at night, precisely as the clock struck twelve, they advanced in five columns, tore down the palisades and the chevaux de frize, and penetrated into the town by the Brostau gate. In the market place, prince Leopold met the governor, count Wallis, and made him prisoner. In an hour the fortress, abundantly supplied with artillery, ammunition, and provisions, was in the possession of the Prussians, whose loss amounted to nine killed and 38 wounded. The inhabitants had abundant reason to be satisfied with the discipline of the Prussians; there was no plundering, neither were they subjected to any of the violence and ill usage common on such occasions.

Leopold, having left a regiment to garrison Glogau, marched with his corps to join the king at Schweidnitz. Frederick, leaving the duke of Holstein with seven battalions and four squadrons at Frankenstein, proceeded, while Kalckstein blockaded Neisse, to effect a junction with Schwerin. This junction took place on the 2d of April at Neustadt and Jägerndorf.

The blockade of Brieg was abandoned, in order to strengthen the main army with the troops that were engaged in it; and the Prussians marched for several days without obtaining certain intelligence concerning the position of the enemy. At length, on the 7th of April, while the army, amidst a heavy fall of snow, was crossing the Neisse at Michelau,

with the intention of proceeding to Grottkau, it fell in with a body of the enemy's hussars; on which occasion, it is said, that Frederick was again in great danger of being made prisoner. After a slight skirmish, the Prussians took about forty prisoners, and from these they learned that the Austrians had arrived at Grottkau, and designed next day to march to Ohlau, where the Prussians had their principal magazine and a strong park of artillery. Nothing but a battle could prevent these from falling into the hands of the enemy; and Frederick made preparations accordingly. How he felt on the eve of this his first engagement appears from a letter to Jordan, written on the 8th of April at the village of Pogrell. "We shall fight to-morrow. You know the fortune of arms. No more respect is paid to the life of a king than to the life of a subject, and of course I cannot tell what may befall me. If there is an end to my career, remember a friend who always loved you dearly. If Heaven prolongs my life, I will write to you to-morrow, and you shall learn that we have conquered."

On the 9th of April the snow fell so thick, that it was impossible to see further than a few paces. News arrived that the enemy was approaching Brieg. In spite of the weather, the king went to reconnoitre the enemy. Accompanied by a peasant of Zindel, named Margner, he rode out to a considerable distance, and derived from his local knowledge much useful information concerning the nature of the ground. He even learned from his humble

companion the position of the enemy, the situation of the head-quarters, and the strength of the hostile force. The service was not unimportant, and though it had nothing to do with the saving of Frederick's life, according to the family tradition current in that village, yet Margner had acquired a claim to Frederick's gratitude. As he died without reminding the king of the circumstance, all that the latter could do was to pay the debt to his destitute daughter. It was many years afterwards that Frederick, on receiving a petition from this woman, then the mother of six children, gave this direction to the minister von Hoym: "I well recollect the act of her honest father which she mentions. She deserves the recompence promised to him, and I therefore desire that it may be paid to his daughter, and that you will give, as she solicits, some suitable appointment to her husband."

On the following day, the weather cleared up, but the snow was two feet deep. At five in the morning, the Prussian army concentrated itself at Pogrell, and the king received intelligence that the Austrians had occupied Mollwitz, Grüningen, and Hünern, and that Neipperg's head-quarters were in the first of those villages. Frederick established his in a spacious plain, only two thousand paces from Mollwitz. The right wing was to have supported itself on the village of Herrndorf, but general Schulenburg, who commanded the cavalry there, did not come up in time through mistake. The left wing extended to the brook of Lauchwitz, and

was covered by its marshy bank. The cavalry of the right wing had left too little space for the infantry, and Frederick was obliged to take three battalions out of the first line; with these he formed a flank, which covered the right of the two lines of infantry—a position not contemplated in the original plan, but which contributed materially to the victory. As the Austrian cavalry was better and more numerous than the Prussian, the king placed two grenadier battalions between the squadrons on each of his wings, in imitation of a disposition adopted by Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lützen.

Neipperg had not the least suspicion of the approach of the Prussians, and Frederick might have surprised and taken him and his whole army, had he not been such a novice in the art of war. The king, therefore, left the Austrians abundant time to form in order of battle, and it was not before two in the afternoon that he ordered the attack to commence. Fortune, whose favours he had slighted, now seemed disposed to avenge herself. The ten squadrons of horse, which Schulenburg commanded at Herrndorf, were put to the rout by the far superior cavalry of the Austrians, and had well nigh thrown the infantry into disorder. The latter, however, fortunately maintained an uninterrupted fire; the enemy's cavalry were dispersed, and their commander, the brave general Römer, was killed on the spot by a ball. Winterfeld's grenadiers, placed between the cavalry, had kept their ground, and retired in good order to the infantry.

Frederick, who attempted to stop and rally his dispersed and flying cavalry, was hurried along by them, and it was not till he was in the centre of the army that he could collect a few squadrons. He led them back to their position, and made a new attack: but, discouraged by their former failure, they were again beaten, dispersed, and driven back. Schulenburg lost his life. The king had a horse killed, and was in imminent danger. His efforts to prevent their flight were fruitless. To no purpose he exclaimed, "Brother soldiers!"—"The honour of the Prussian arms"—"Your king's life"—away they scampered.

Owing to this defection of the cavalry, the infantry of the right wing was exposed to all attacks, and the Austrian cavalry attempted to take advantage of this circumstance; but the three supernumerary battalions, placed on the flank of the other infantry, prevented their advance. With admirable firmness they withstood three attacks of the enemy; and the Austrians, having lost a great number of men, retreated in disorder. In vain did Neipperg bring up infantry and fresh cavalry to their aid: the Prussians stood like a wall, and their rapid and incessant fire struck down whole ranks of their adversaries. For five hours the brave fellows kept up this destructive fire, till they had wholly expended their ammunition; and valour then seemed to be of no further avail. Frederick himself, seeing that everything was at stake, lost his presence of mind, and, turning to Schwerin, under whose gui-

dance he had placed himself in this first essay in serious warfare, inquired what was to be done. The old hero, who was himself wounded, considered the battle as not yet lost, but advised him to proceed to the town of Oppeln, occupied by the Prussian regiment of La Motte, to cross the Oder there, and to put himself at the head of the corps of the duke of Holstein, which was supposed to be in that quarter. Schwerin added that, if he should lose the battle, the retreat across the Oder would be very critical; but in this case the king might support him with the Holstein troops, and at the same time cover Ohlau: if he won the victory, the same troops might contribute to annihilate the flying enemy.

Frederick hesitated for some time before he would follow this advice and leave the army. But when it began to grow dark, and there was no prospect of a favourable turn to the affair, the young monarch yielded to the reiterated representations of the veteran field-marshal, and set out. He was followed, against his will, by a squadron of gens-d'armes, probably by command of the hereditary prince of Anhalt; but he rode so fast with his few attendants, that they could not keep up with him, and stopped in the little town of Löwen. Arriving at midnight at Oppeln, the king was in the utmost danger of being taken or shot; for when he made known who he was, and ordered the gate to be opened, it was found that the place had been meanwhile taken by the Austrians, who fired at the king

and his suite between the bars of the iron gate. Precipitately facing about, Frederick returned to Löwen, where he arrived by day-break. Here Bülow, aide-de-camp to the hereditary prince of Anhalt, who was sent to inform him that the battle was won, found him in a windmill, which circumstance occasioned the caustic remark, that in this battle the king had covered himself with glory and flour.

Overjoyed at this result, but ashamed and dissatisfied with himself for having followed the advice of the marshal, he returned to the field of battle, and found that Schwerin had received a second wound. He had thrown the left wing of the Prussians on the right flank of the Austrians, and thereby decided the victory. Night alone had saved the enemy from utter destruction. They numbered 7000 killed and wounded, and 1200 prisoners; and lost seven pieces of cannon and three pair of colours. The loss of the Prussians was 2500 killed and 3000 wounded. Among the slain was Prince Frederick, second son of the margrave Frederick Albert of Brandenburg-Schwedt. The first battalion of the guard, against which the principal attack of the Austrians was directed, had suffered most severely. It had lost half its officers; out of 800 privates, 180 only were left fit for duty. The king rode over the field of battle, and could not behold the scene of slaughter and the wounded without deep concern. Among others, he saw one of his favourites, captain Fitzgerald, of the guard, who had lost both his legs.

"My God," said he, clasping his hands, "what a misfortune has befallen you!"—"I thank your majesty for your sympathy," replied the dying officer. "May you live and be happy, and prosperous! It is all over with me."

The enemy himself did justice to the intrepidity of the raw Prussian soldiers. "Never in my life," wrote an Austrian general, "did I behold a finer army than the Prussian. It advanced in astonishing order. Its ranks and lines were as close, and moved with as much regularity, as though they were on the parade. Their glistening arms produced their effect in the sunshine, and they fired so rapidly and simultaneously that it resembled thunder."

The king wrote himself the next day to the old prince of Anhalt: "My infantry has done wonders; and perhaps none in the world ever equalled it. I have to thank Bollmer's and Winterfeld's grenadier battalions, the first battalion of my regiment, and Kleist's regiment, for the victory, though it is certain that all the others have done every thing that men of undaunted courage and covetous of honour are capable of doing. On the other hand, I must confess that the greatest part of my cavalry behaved like poltroons."

The charger which the king rode during the battle had belonged to his father and was one of his best horses, but when, at the persuasion of Schwerin, he quitted the field, he mounted another, remarkable enough to deserve a page in the biography of his

master. As all his horses had names, this was called "Tall Gray." He too had belonged to Frederick William, and was such an excellent creature that though then sixteen years old the king took him along with him to Silesia. This animal carried him that night to Oppeln and back, a distance of not less than fourteen German miles (upwards of sixty-five English) without food and almost without resting. After this the king required no further service of him, left him at home in the next campaign, and ordered him to be taken care of as long as he lived. Ever after the battle, he went by the name of the Mollwitz Gray. In fine weather, he was often admitted, by the king's orders, into the pleasure garden to run about and graze without restraint. When he was there at the time of exercise, and the ensigns brought down the colours from the palace, while all the drummers beat a march, the old horse would of his own accord squat down on his croup and traverse, till the colours and drummers had passed. Some time before the seven years' war, when he was above thirty years old, the king took a fancy to mount him once more at the beginning of the season of the exercises. As soon as the colours came and the march was beaten, he spontaneously performed the above-mentioned manœuvre with the king upon his back. His majesty was highly delighted, and afterwards rode him occasionally at the exercises in the pleasure garden, but never longer than half an hour at a time. In 1760, when the Austrian troops were

at Potsdam, the hussars wanted to take with them this horse, together with another called the Young Brown, the only two that had been left behind on account of their age. Both of them received many a blow because they could not go faster; but the Gray would not stir a step further than the pleasure-garden. When he died, agreeably to the orders left by the king, he was buried in the court of the royal mews.

Voltaire, who is notorious for his disregard of truth in details, which he no doubt frequently falsified to gratify his personal malice, gives a ludicrous account of the misfortunes which, during the battle of Mollwitz, befell Maupertuis, who, in compliance with the king's invitation had settled in Berlin.

He says that Maupertuis accompanied the army, anticipating great advantages for himself by so doing, and hoping that the king would provide him with a horse. Being disappointed, he gave two ducats for an ass, which, however, when he fled with the king, could not go fast enough to save him from the Austrian hussars, who made him prisoner and plundered him. The fact was that Maupertuis had followed the king to the battle on horseback, and tying his horse to the foot of a tree, climbed it to obtain a better view of what was going on in the distance. Here he was perceived by a party of Austrian hussars, who galloped up to the place and took from him everything of value that he had about him. He was luckily recognized by

the prince of Lichtenstein who had known him in Paris, and who delivered him from the hands of his ruthless plunderers. He was sent to Vienna, where another accidental circumstance restored him to liberty. Some days after the battle, Frederick gave orders for the apprehension of cardinal Sinzendorf, bishop of Breslau, to whom he had shown distinguished favour, and who had promised not to interfere in the Silesian war. Having convicted him of an understanding with the enemy, he sent him to Vienna. In return for his generosity, Maria Theresa released Maupertuis.

CHAPTER XVII.

Reduction of Brieg.—Frederick encamps near Strehlen.—He concludes a Treaty with France and Bavaria.—Conspiracy for giving up Breslau to the Austrians.—Prussian Troops take possession of the City.—Camp at Strehlen.—Overtures made on the part of Austria by Mr. Robinson, the English ambassador at Vienna; rejected by the King.—The King of Poland joins the Coalition against Austria.—Proposals for a separate Peace with Prussia accepted by Frederick.—Condition of Secrecy violated by Austria.—The People of Silesia take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of Prussia.—He returns to Berlin.—Improvement of the Prussian Cavalry.—The King goes to Dresden.—Augustus III.—Count Brühl.—Frederick's Interview with the King of Poland.—Surrender of Glatz.—The Virgin Mary's new Gown.—Incursion of the Prussians into Lower Austria.—Siege of Brünn.—Frederick retires into Bohemia and encamps.—Prince Charles of Lorraine.—Battle of Chotusitz.—The King concludes a separate Peace with Austria.—Secret Negociations of the French.

After his defeat at Mollwitz, Neipperg retreated in great disorder to Neisse, passing unmolested within five miles of the corps under the duke of Holstein. Frederick himself remained with his army in a strong camp at Mollwitz till the 28th of May, taking the most judicious measures for recruiting his regiments and improving the useless cavalry. The first-fruit of his victory was the reduction of Brieg on the 4th of May, after a bombardment which demolished many of the buildings of the town and made several breaches in the ramparts. The fortress contained 69 pieces of

cannon. The garrison, commanded by prince Piccolomini, was allowed to march out upon condition of not serving against Prussia for two years.

Among the numerous skirmishes which took place with the Austrians, who were again collecting in the environs of Neisse, the successful action at Rothschloss, on the 17th of May is alone worthy of mention. Here Winterfeld surprised 1400 horse, and despatched Zieten, who had just been promoted lieutenant-colonel, to attack them, while he himself took them in flank. Zieten gained the more honour in this action inasmuch as major-general Baronnay, one of the most eminent partisans, who had been his master in the campaigns of 1734 and 5 on the Rhine, commanded the enemy. Winterfeld made such a favourable report of Zieten's spirit and intrepidity, that the king not only promoted him to be colonel, but made him commander of all the hussars. Winterfeld too, who was till then only major, soon afterwards received the commission of colonel.

The shattered fortress of Brieg having been repaired and provided with every thing necessary for a siege, Frederick slowly moved with his army upon Neisse, but, at his approach, the Austrians retreated across the river. On the 13th of June, he established himself in a fortified camp near Strehlen, where he remained till the 18th of August in apparent inactivity. By some of the more recent military writers, this inactivity has been censured as useless and even prejudicial; but these take no account of political circum-

stances, which had an influence on Frederick's operations. His greatness consisted in acting not merely as a warrior and conqueror, but also as a wise statesman and sovereign.

The immediate consequences of the victory of Mollwitz were nothing in comparison with the importance which it gave him in the eyes of the European powers. Ambassadors from most of them repaired to his camp, some to solicit his friendship, others, particularly England, to effect a compromise between the contending parties; but for this the Austrian cabinet was not yet sufficiently humbled. Frederick would then have been content with Lower Silesia and Breslau,—a sacrifice which was deemed too great at Vienna. On the part of France, which had now united with Bavaria against Maria Theresa, appeared marshal Belleisle, with proposals for a secret treaty which was actually concluded. The news reached Vienna. "The Austrian ministers," says Mr. Robinson, the English ambassador, "when they heard it, fell back in their chairs as if dead. It was too late, and in fact neither more nor less than what they might have expected—and yet they had done nothing."

Meanwhile, the partizans of Austria in Silesia were not idle. Frederick was informed of correspondences carried on in Breslau, and of a plan of Neipperg's to turn the Prussians and to take that city. A club of old ladies in that capital, descendants of Austrian families, formed the nucleus

of the conspiracy, several magistrates and crafty monks were the springs. The king contrived to gain admission for a false sister into the ladies' club, and thus to obtain a knowledge of the secret. Apprized of all the circumstances, he summoned a deputation of the magistrates to Strehlen. He asked them if they had strictly observed the stipulated neutrality; if they had not, on the other hand, assisted his enemies; if they had not sent 140,000 florins to queen Maria Theresa, and kept up an illicit correspondence with Neipperg; at the same time laying before them papers proving the understanding that subsisted between them. The deputies could not deny the charge; they confessed every thing, and solicited pardon. Frederick immediately ordered Schwerin and the hereditary prince of Dessau to put an end to the neutrality of the city, and to obtain possession of it by stratagem without effusion of blood. Accordingly they applied to the magistrates to permit a Prussian regiment to march through the city, for the purpose of crossing the Oder. The senate complied, and the town-major put himself at the head of the Prussians to conduct them through the streets. The grenadiers having turned off towards the great market-place, and not taken the way to the Oder gate which he was showing them, he imagined or pretended to imagine that they had gone the wrong way through ignorance and would have set them right. Prince Leopold mildly bade him put up his sword and go home, as his further

services were not wanted. The new-comers had taken good care to prevent the gates from being closed, and thus, on the morning of the 10th of August, the Prussians took possession of Breslau without spilling a drop of blood. "Never," says Bielefeld, "did the taking of a town cost less. The only hostilities which occurred on this occasion consisted in a box on the ear given by general Münchow to a sentinel posted at the first barrier, who was going to close it."

Frederick was meanwhile informed at Strehlen of the occupation of the city by means of guns fired from station to station. He dismissed the deputies, telling them that he considered the stipulated neutrality as null and void. Schwerin was ordered to receive, in the king's name, the oath of allegiance of the magistrates, the citizens, and the city militia; and on Sunday the 13th thanksgiving sermons were preached from a text which he gave, and Te Deum performed. He gained the confidence of the Protestants, who constituted the majority of the inhabitants, by publicly embracing the Lutheran preachers after divine service, whereas he only gave his hand to the Catholic clergy.

Neipperg learned too late that he was tricked. He occupied himself in marching to and fro, and avoided a serious engagement. Petty actions and skirmishes still occurred. The king himself employed his leisure in reading, playing on the flute, poetry, and correspondence. To Jordan in par-

ticular he wrote frequently, and made minute inquiries concerning what was said about him in Berlin.

Meanwhile his camp, where he was equally near to Brieg and Schweidnitz, and covered all Lower Silesia, resembled one of those, in which troops are collected in time of peace for the purpose of exercise. As the enemy was at a distance, great numbers of tradesmen and petty dealers had set up shops and stalls close to it; and the presence of foreigners, ambassadors, and the wives of some of the officers who had followed their husbands to Strehlen, had caused millinery goods, materials for dress, jewelry, Brabant lace, and other articles of luxury, to be brought thither for sale. Add to all this the jovial humour of the soldiers, who approached their young warlike monarch with familiar frankness, and whose enthusiasm he so well understood the art of kindling. Numberless are the anecdotes related of his intercourse with his brave fellows, how boldly they addressed him, how he would mingle among the parties collected to sing and enjoy themselves, taste their food, and return witty answers to their jokes. Such were the simple means employed by Frederick to inspire his warriors with a more ardent enthusiasm for his person than was perhaps ever manifested for any sovereign. The soldier who had talked with his king and been praised by him, began to fancy himself superior to his com-

rades; and thus Frederick infused into his troops a spirit which rendered them invincible.

During these transactions in Silesia, the elector of Bavaria, supported by French auxiliaries, entered Austria, levied contributions, and directed his march towards the capital, on which the court, deeming itself insecure there, fled to Presburg. The emergency now became pressing, and the offer of Robinson, the English ambassador, to act the part of mediator was not refused. He proposed to propitiate at least one enemy, and to sacrifice something in order not to lose all. Furnished with full powers, he arrived on the 7th of August at Frederick's camp near Strehlen. In genuine Austrian phrases, he told the king that the queen of Hungary would generously forgive and forget all that was past if he would immediately evacuate Silesia, and in compensation for his claims give him Limburg, Spanish Guelders, and two million dollars. Frederick rejected the offer with indignation. "Do they then take me for a beggar!" he exclaimed, when mention was made of the money; "do they expect me to give up Silesia, and for money, after I have expended so much blood and treasure in conquering it!" The ambassador returned to Vienna to report the failure of his mission. To no purpose he came back on the 8th of September, bringing with him a map of Silesia, on which were marked four principalities that were to be ceded to the king.

Such a sacrifice was now not sufficient for Frederick; he knew, moreover, that the court of Austria was not in earnest in regard to the proposed cessions, and that it was making at the same time similar seductive offers to the king of France.

The danger meanwhile became more imminent. Augustus III., king of Poland and elector of Saxony, joined the coalition against Austria with a view to obtain Moravia, and the prospect of aid from England became daily more and more faint. Thus pressed on all sides, Maria Theresa again had recourse to the mediation of the English ambassador, and declared that she was ready to cede the whole of Lower and part of Upper Silesia to the conqueror. Lord Hyndford arrived with these proposals, and was admitted to a private interview at Little Schnellendorf on the 8th of October. The Austrian generals Neipperg and Lentulus were also present at the conference held on the following day, in which it was agreed that, till the conclusion of peace between Austria and Prussia, there should be a secret armistice; that the Austrians should surrender the fortress of Neisse; and that Frederick should take up his winter-quarters in Upper Silesia, but without levying contributions. To deceive the world, the petty warfare was to be carried on for a while. The king engaged to observe the strictest secrecy respecting this agreement; Neisse was ostensibly besieged and taken; the Austrians evacuated Silesia, and Frederick took possession of the

county of Glatz, while marching with part of his troops to join the allied army in Bohemia. Here he found the elector of Bavaria, who, after causing himself to be proclaimed king of Bohemia in Prague, repaired to Mannheim, in expectation of being elected emperor of Germany.

Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, had in early life served in the imperial army against the Turks, and married the youngest daughter of the emperor Joseph I., on which occasion he renounced all claim to the Austrian succession. But when, in 1732, the emperor Charles VI. solicited the princes of the empire to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, the elector of Bavaria refused, and set up a claim to the possessions of the house of Austria after the death of the reigning sovereign. This claim he founded on his descent in the direct male line from Anne, daughter of the emperor Ferdinand I., and on the will of that monarch, which, according to the copy preserved at Munich, decided that, on failure of *male* heirs to the house of Austria, its hereditary dominions should devolve to the descendants of that princess; whereas the original will at Vienna had the word *legitimate* instead of *male* which made a material difference. The elector-palatine and elector of Saxony also preferred a claim to the future succession, but it was relinquished by the latter.

All sorts of troops were now collected in Bohemia. They scarcely knew whether they were friends or foes; for the Austrian court had taken care that

the purport of the convention of Little Schnellendorf should be made public, in order to sow distrust among the belligerent parties. In concluding that armistice, it was far from Frederick's intention to found the supremacy of France upon the humiliation of Austria, and thereby to degrade himself from an independent ally to a subservient satellite. Part of his plan was to employ the time in strengthening his army, well aware that separate negociations between France and Austria, as well as a violation of the strictly enjoined secrecy, might furnish him with occasion and pretext for adopting other measures.

Frederick was indignant on finding that the condition of secrecy was not fulfilled by the court of Austria. He now held himself to be no longer bound by that agreement, considered Silesia as his own, and fixed the 7th of November as the day for receiving the oath of allegiance on behalf of the whole country. More than four hundred deputies of all ranks and classes assembled at Breslau; with them returned the canons and chapter, who had been expelled on account of their participation in the conspiracy to which I have already adverted, and who, after they had taken the oath of obedience, were re-instated in their possessions. The king received homage in person, and thus afforded the Silesians such a sight as they had not witnessed since the time of the emperor Mathias in 1611. He arrived about noon in a carriage and eight, at the town-house, before which his guard was drawn

up. Entering the hall, in a uniform that was much worn, his hair negligently dressed, and without any sort of decoration, he seated himself on the throne once occupied by the emperor Mathias, which had been fitted up anew for the occasion. Marshal Schwerin, on his right, was to have held the sword of state, but it had been forgotten; Frederick therefore took off his own sword and gave it to Schwerin as a suitable symbol for the solemn act. Podewils the minister delivered an appropriate address, in which he explained the object of the assembly, and in the name of the king promised the Silesians the confirmation of all their rights and privileges. He then read the oath of allegiance, which the deputies pronounced after him. They afterwards went up singly to the throne, laid one hand upon the bible, and kissed the hilt of the king's sword, in token of obedience and fidelity. A shout of "Long live the king!" concluded the act. Podewils returned thanks; the king bowed, and, accompanied by the deputies, returned to his carriage. Festivities of all kinds succeeded. Among the rest, the city-cook, in a kitchen built for the purpose in the new market-place, roasted a whole ox, stuffed with pheasants, partridges, hares, and geese. On the right side appeared the Prussian eagle, formed of large birds and larks; and on the other were the words "FRIDERICUS REX," the Polish eagle, the arms of Dessau, and the city arms. It need scarcely be added that Frederick won many hearts at Breslau by his affability and condescension.

The Silesians were more particularly delighted, because their new monarch had not come to fleece them as their Austrian rulers had been accustomed to do. His first act as sovereign was to remit the usual homage-gift of a ton of gold. "The country," said he, "is so exhausted by the calamities of war, that I cannot accept such a sacrifice. I wish rather to relieve the people, that they may have no cause to regret the change of government." Accordingly, he supplied the farmers with seed-corn, gave them money, and remitted many imposts. He conferred new titles on the nobles, and created several new officers of state. The Catholic clergy were not molested, and every profession of faith enjoyed equal protection.

On the 12th of November, Frederick set out for Berlin, while Schwerin occupied Upper Silesia, and the younger prince Leopold of Dessau, whose activity in this campaign rivalled that of the old marshal, marched with his corps through the county of Glatz, fulfilling the double object of blockading the fortress of Glatz and forming a junction with the Bavarian and Saxon troops in Bohemia.

In Berlin, where Frederick found his sisters of Anspach and Brunswick, he indulged with them in the pleasures of music and the theatre, laid the foundation-stone of a new opera-house, and invited artists of all sorts to his capital. At the same time he was not regardless of more important matters. The army was reinforced. His attention was directed in particular to the formation of an efficient

cavalry. In this object he found in Zieten a most useful assistant. His hussars distinguished themselves in such a manner that their very name spread terror far and near. A corps of Hulans, which Frederick organized, had not answered his expectations; he therefore incorporated it with the regiment of life-hussars and thus augmented the latter to ten squadrons. The uniform of these Hulans consisted of white Turkish mantles and light blue clothing underneath: this was changed, but in memory of it, the new hussars had white sheep-skins and light blue dollmans. The Austrians sought to throw ridicule upon this regiment by calling the hussars *sheep*. This contemptuous appellation kindled in those to whom it was given an ardent desire of revenge; and an opportunity of gratifying that sentiment occurred in 1758, when an Austrian regiment which had jeered the Prussians with that name was almost entirely cut in pieces. The Prussian leader, general Puttkammer, had great difficulty to save a few of the officers, including the commander. The latter, on being conducted to the king, complained that no quarter had been given. Frederick, aware of the cause of this proceeding, asked: "Did you ever in your life read such a book as the bible?" "O yes, your majesty," replied the officer, with some degree of surprise. "Well then," said the king, "that will explain the matter to you, for there it is said: 'Beware of those who come to you in sheep's clothing, for inwardly they are ravenous wolves.'"

After the king had attended the marriage of his

eldest brother William, he set out on the 18th of January, with his brother Henry and a numerous retinue, for Dresden, where he was received with *triple* salute of 82 guns, and various festivities. Augustus III., a prince of no capacity, had been induced, by the prospect of adding Moravia to his dominions, to join the coalition against Austria, but showed no disposition to take an active part in the contest. He was governed entirely by count Brühl, who for a long series of years was prime minister of the sovereigns of Saxony. He was a man of little ability, great indolence, and unbounded profusion. With these qualities he combined the basest corruption, selling his master and himself to which ever party offered the largest bribe. His maxim was: Let public affairs alone and they will take care of themselves. Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who was the British envoy at the court of Dresden, gives the following character of this minister:—"As everything of every kind, from the highest affairs of state down to operas and hunting, are all in count Brühl's immediate care, I leave you to judge how his post is executed. His expenses are immense: he keeps three hundred servants and as many horses. His house is in extreme bad taste and extravagance. He has at least a dozen country seats, where he is always building and altering, but which he never sees. It is said, and I believe it, that he takes money for everything the king disposes of in Poland, where they frequently have very great employments to bestow."

Frederick gives a humorous description of the interview which he had with Augustus for the purpose of explaining to him the plan of the ensuing campaign, and especially the manner in which possession ought to be taken of Moravia. "Augustus," he says, "answered yes to everything apparently convinced, but with a look of great ennui. Count Brühl, who was displeased at this interview, interrupted it by informing his master that the opera was about to begin. Ten kingdoms to conquer would not have detained the king of Poland a minute longer. He went, therefore, to the opera, and the king of Prussia obtained at once, and in spite of those who opposed it, a final decision."

On the 21st of January, 1741, Frederick arrived at Prague, to concert with the French and Bavarian commanders the future operations of the campaign, and then proceeded to the quarters of his troops in Bohemia and Silesia, where Glatz had surrendered during his absence. He entered that town on his birthday, the 24th of January. Learning that the countess Grünau, wife of a staff-officer, had during the siege made a vow to present a new gown to the Virgin Mary in the Jesuits' convent, in case the siege were raised; the king had a gown made of the most costly stuff that could be procured, and sent it to the Jesuits with the message, that he possessed as much politeness as the countess, and could not suffer the Blessed Virgin to be a loser by his conquest. The Jesuits could not decline the pre-

sent, and went in procession to return thanks to the king.

At the beginning of February, Frederick appeared at the head of 15,000 men in Moravia, where Schwerin had in December taken Ollmütz. The Saxon auxiliary corps came slowly and reluctantly to reinforce him. Through the love of ease of the Saxon generals, Frederick not only lost many advantages but found himself under the necessity of changing the whole plan of operations. He assigned quarters to these auxiliaries on the Bohemian frontiers, while he penetrated with his own troops into Lower Austria. Zieten's hussars ventured further into the country than any Prussian corps ever advanced in his subsequent wars. They pushed on to Stockerau, only one station from Vienna. The capital trembled at the approach of these dreaded guests; but the hussars, not being supported by their allies, could not follow up the advantages which they had acquired, and the only gain of this expedition was a great quantity of provisions.

At the beginning of March, the king received intelligence that the Hungarians were collecting an army for the purpose of making an incursion into Silesia and attacking the Prussians in the rear. Eight thousand were already at Skalitz on the Moravian frontier; these were dispersed by prince Dietrich of Anhalt, who took a great number of prisoners, and spread such terror in Hungary, that for some

time there was nothing to apprehend from that quarter.

On the 7th of March, the royal army laid siege to Brünn, which had a garrison of 7000 men and an able commandant, who impeded the operations of the besiegers in every possible way. The Saxon auxiliaries too did more harm than good. King Augustus, who was to have furnished artillery for bombarding the town, excused himself on the plea of want of money, though he had just given 400,000 dollars for a large green diamond. At length, weary of sacrificing his troops for foreign interests and conquering a country for an ally who would do nothing for himself, Frederick retired from Moravia. He strengthened himself with the corps of observation stationed under the prince of Anhalt near Brandenburg, which had become useless there; and divided his whole force into two halves. With one he ordered Schwerin and prince Dietrich of Anhalt to encamp near Ollmütz, a position which those commanders were at length obliged to quit by want of provisions; and stationed the other between the Elbe and the Sassawa in the Bohemian circle of Chrudim. "But sire," said the Saxon minister von Bülow to the king at his departure, "who is there now to put the crown on my master's head?"—"Sir," replied Frederick drily, "crowns are not to be won without heavy artillery, and it is the fault of the Saxons themselves that we have not taken Brünn." The Saxons too now

retired from Moravia into Bohemia, where they took up their quarters near their own frontiers.

For four weeks Frederick remained stationary in his new camp, and thoroughly convinced himself in that time, that he had no support to expect from the French under marshal Bróglio who were posted not far from him, but that he must depend solely on his own resources. The king longed for the termination of such a campaign, and would gladly have assented to a reasonable compromise; but the court of Vienna had obtained several advantages over Frederick's allies, and made sure of a successful issue to the contest. A battle, therefore, could alone decide, and for this an opportunity soon presented itself.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother-in-law of Maria Theresa, a bold and enterprising commander, accompanied by the experienced veteran field-marshal Königseck, advanced into Bohemia at the head of an Austrian army, with the intention of dislodging the Prussians, whose number he estimated at half its real amount, possessing himself of their magazines at Podiebrad and Nimburg, and then wresting Prague from the French and the Bavarians. In order to anticipate him the king set himself in motion on the 15th of May with a considerable advanced guard, and ordered prince Leopold to follow slowly with the main army. But when he reached Kuttenberg, the Austrians turned aside and occupied the town of Czaslau, in the immediate neighbourhood of prince Leopold, whom they pur-

posed to attack. Without loss of time, the prince made the necessary dispositions for their reception. When the king, after whom a messenger had been sent, arrived on the morning of the 17th, he found the two armies drawn up in order of battle: the troops with the king being destined to form the second line and the reserve of the Prussian army.

The ground was tolerably favourable for the latter. Their right wing was supported upon the lake of Czirkwitz, and the left extended to the park of Sehowsitz, which is enclosed with a wall. The ground was not so favourable for the cavalry placed on the left wing of the Prussians, where ravines and morass impeded their movements; fortunately they had cavalry opposed to them in this quarter. As the Prussians had learned at Mollwitz to appreciate the value of a flank covering of infantry, three battalions were posted on the right flank in front of the cavalry of the second line. The Prussian force amounted to 30,000, that of the Austrians to 40,000; but eighty-two pieces of cannon compensated the former for their inferiority in number to the latter, who were but ill provided with artillery.

The battle commenced at eight in the morning. The Prussian cavalry of the right wing soon drove that of the enemy from the field. So much the more obstinate was the conflict with the centre and the right wing of the Austrians. Königseck pushed on with his whole force against Chotusitz, which was inadequately occupied by the Prussian infantry

regiment of Schwerin. The enemy set fire to the village and thus forced their adversaries to abandon the place. Meanwhile, the Prussian cavalry of the left wing had advanced too rashly, dispersed two Austrian regiments, and cut their way back through both the enemy's lines. But the exposure thus occasioned was still more prejudicial to the Prussians; and the steady advance of the superior force of the enemy would have decided the contest in their favour, had not the flames of Chotusitz stopped them and divided their operations. Sometimes the Prussians drove back the enemy, at others fresh masses of Austrians advanced to break through their left wing, but were met by a fire of musketry which made terrible slaughter.

It was now between nine and ten o'clock. The king was everywhere with his infantry, animating the courage of the men. He now perceived that, by gaining a height on his right wing, he might fall upon the left flank of the enemy, and immediately led thither the infantry of the right wing, which had as yet suffered nothing, at the charge step. When the Prussian battalions appeared upon the height, and fifteen pieces of cannon began to mow down the Austrian ranks, while the Prussian left wing advanced with fresh courage, their adversaries were disheartened. Flying from the Prussian bayonets, their left wing threw itself in confusion upon the right; and, incapable of further resistance on the unfavourable ground, they left behind them their artillery and ammunition-waggons, and dis-

persed. Eighteen pieces of cannon, one howitzer, two pair of colours, and 1200 prisoners, many of whom were taken in the pursuit, were the trophies of this day. The Austrians left about 3000 dead on the field, and had at least 2000 wounded. The loss of the Prussians amounted to 1600 killed, and 2000 wounded, and in the cavalry attacks they lost eleven standards. The Austrians had placed their colours in safety behind the front.

After this victory, the king expressed his satisfaction and his thanks to his officers and soldiers. He embraced the hereditary prince of Anhalt, in admiration of his heroic spirit and military talents, on the field of battle, and appointed him general-field-marshal. The generals and commanders of regiments were promoted or rewarded with the Order of Merit. Before he quitted the field, he despatched M. Borck to the king of France with this laconic epistle: "Sire, prince Charles of Lorraine has attacked me and I have beaten him." The elector of Bavaria, now the emperor Charles VII., was so overjoyed at this victory, that he created baron Schmettau, who brought him the news, a count of the empire.

Frederick took up his quarters in Czaslau, and gave orders for the removal and relief of the wounded. He directed a plot of ground on the field of battle to be bought for the burial of the dead, stipulating that it should not be ploughed for twenty-five years, after which time it was to revert to the former proprietor, who might do with it

what he pleased. Here the dead were interred, and a triple salute fired over their graves.

A few days afterwards, Frederick, with a presentiment of that consequence which the Prussian monarchy was to acquire among the powers of Europe, wrote to Jordan: "You see your friend has gained a second victory in the space of thirteen months. Who could have foretold a few years since that the scholar, who learned philosophy from you, rhetoric from Cicero, and how to think from Bayle, could play a military part in the world? Who could have imagined that Providence would select a poet to overthrow the political system of Europe, and to make a total change in the political combinations of kings! When shall we meet again under the peaceful beeches of Rheinsberg or under the magnificent limes at Charlottenburg! When shall we again be able to philosophize at pleasure on the follies of men and the nothingness of our condition! I await that happy hour with the greater impatience because man, when he has tried everything in the world, generally returns to the better pursuit."

While prince Charles of Lorraine rallied and reinforced his army at Deutschbrod, Frederick, who had encamped at Kuttenberg, received 6000 fresh troops from Upper Silesia. Both parties harassed each other for some time longer in petty skirmishes, in which the advantage was on the side of the Prussians; but the victory of Chotusitz or

Czaslau virtually put an end to the war for the possession of Silesia.

What Frederick had anticipated now took place: the pride of Maria Theresa was humbled, and she was no longer averse to peace. He himself longed earnestly for it: for the treasures left him by his father were reduced to 150,000 dollars. His allies had proved cowardly or perfidious. The duplicity of the French cabinet could not but convince the king that it was necessary to consult his own interest and to lose no time in concluding peace. It was not unknown to him that his faithful ally was secretly negotiating with Austria, and waiting for an opportunity to desert Prussia; that he was endeavouring to bribe Russia to peace with Prussian Pomerania; and that he was comforting the pope with the representation that he need be under no apprehension on account of the success of Prussia, for France would know how and when to attack and humble the heretics, as it had to exalt them. Under these circumstances, the two plenipotentiaries, Lord Hyndford, the English ambassador extraordinary at Vienna, on the part of Austria, and Podewils the Prussian minister, were not long in settling the conditions of the treaty. Having met at Breslau, they agreed, on the 11th of June, 1742, that the queen of Hungary should cede to Prussia the whole of Upper and Lower Silesia and the county of Glatz, with the exception of the towns of Troppau and Jägerndorf; that Prussia

should pay 170,000 dollars, the amount of a loan from English merchants to Austria; that the constitution of the Catholic church should be preserved intact; and that England, Russia, Holland, Brunswick, and Saxony should be included in this treaty.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the Prussians evacuated Bohemia: part of their army returned through Saxony to Brandenburg; the other marched to Silesia to protect the newly acquired province. Frederick himself acquainted his troops in the camp of Kuttenberg with the conclusion of peace, making honourable mention of Lord Hyndford, who, as a reward for his good services, was, at his own request, permitted to quarter the Prussian eagle in his family arms. The king also wrote to Cardinal Fleury to justify himself for having concluded this treaty without consulting his ally. The whole court of France was as if thunderstruck at the news. Some are said to have fainted, while the cardinal minister burst into tears. In his reply to the king, he says: "Your majesty will now be the arbiter of Europe; this is the most glorious part that you can ever undertake."

France did not fail to accuse Frederick of perfidy in having made a separate peace, though the court of Versailles had entered into negociations for the same purpose; but, its plans having been discovered, as we have seen, by the king, he contrived, through the mediation of England to get the start of his treacherous ally. Accounts pub-

lished at the time relate that on this point Frederick had the most positive information, which he derived from the Austrian general Pallandt, who was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Chotusitz. The king, we are told, went to see and to cheer the general under his misfortune. In the course of conversation, Pallandt assured Frederick that he should die happy if he could reconcile his majesty with the queen of Hungary, assuring him at the same time that, if he continued the war, he would infallibly be the dupe of France. The king pretended to be incredulous and said that he possessed proofs to the contrary. The general replied that what he advanced was true and that he would convince the king of it within six days. He immediately despatched a courier to Vienna, and lost no time in apprizing the king of his return. Frederick accordingly went again to the general, who put into his hands a letter which he begged him to read with attention. The king saw with astonishment that it was a letter from cardinal Fleury, prime minister of France, to the queen of Hungary, informing her that the king his master would guarantee to her Silesia and Moravia, if she would give up Bohemia and part of Upper Austria to the emperor Charles VII.

Frederick requested to be allowed to keep this letter for a few days, and the general consented. "The cardinal takes me for a fool," said the king, on reaching his own quarters to some of his generals, "and means to desert me; but I will be beforehand

with him." He immediately ordered Podewils to enter into negociation with Lord Hyndford, and then wrote to marshal Broglio informing him of his victory at Chotusitz in the following terms: "I am quits with my allies, for my troops have just gained a complete victory. It is now your duty to profit by this success without delay: if you neglect to do so, you will have to answer for it to your allies. I pray God to have you always in his holy keeping."

The style of this letter surprized the two French marshals; and they were further astonished by the report of an English courier, who had been taken prisoner at Prague, and who informed them that at Vienna peace between the king of Prussia and the queen of Hungary was considered all but concluded. Marshal Belleisle proceeded forthwith to the Prussian camp to ascertain the truth or falsehood of these reports. The king frankly told him the exact state of the case. "I believe," said he, "that the treaty to which you allude is as good as concluded. I have offered terms of peace to the queen of Hungary, and she accepts them. Having therefore gained all that I want, I make peace; and everybody else in my situation would do the same. If I abandon the alliance of the emperor, I am not on that account deserting his interests: but the queen of Hungary, by conceding all that I have demanded, leaves me no pretext for continuing the war." The marshal had the insolence to reply: "Is it possible, sire, that you can dare to abandon the best of your allies and to deceive so respectable a monarch as

the king of France?"—Frederick eyed him with a look of indignant disdain, and put into his hand the cardinal's letter, saying: "And you sir, do you dare to talk to me in this manner?". Belleisle read the letter, was confounded, and retired secretly cursing the cardinal and his conduct. Such is the story and I see no reason to doubt its accuracy.

"In this manner," says Frederick, "was Silesia united with Prussia. A two years' war sufficed to conquer that important province. The treasure left by the late king was exhausted; but to buy states at an expence of seven or eight millions is a cheap bargain. Collateral circumstances greatly favoured the enterprize. It was requisite that France should be drawn into this war, that Russia should be attacked by Sweden, that the Hanoverians and Saxons should remain inactive, that the issue of battles should always be favourable, and that the king of England, an enemy to Prussia, should become against his will the tool of her aggrandizement. What chiefly contributed to the conquest was an army which, in the course of twenty-two years, had been brought to a wonderful state of discipline, and which surpassed every other in Europe, patriotic generals, able and incorruptible ministers, and a certain portion of good luck."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Political Importance acquired by the King.—His Attention to Silesia.—Mandate against the oppressive conduct of Civil Officers.—Projected Reform of Justice.—The new Opera House in Berlin.—Potier, the Ballet-master.—Encouragement given by the King to Arts, Manufactures, and Domestic Industry.—Canals.—Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres.—Fortresses in Silesia repaired and strengthened.—Improvement of the Cavalry.—Increase of the Army.—Military Advantages gained by the Austrians.—They drive the French out of Bohemia and overrun Bavaria.—George II. takes the field to assist the queen of Hungary.—Battle of Dettingen.—Destitute condition of the new Emperor Charles.—Treaty of Worms between England, Holland, and Austria.—Mission of Voltaire to the King of Prussia.—His Account of the King's Habits and Occupations.—Union of Frankfurt between Prussia, Sweden, and Hesse Cassel, in support of Charles VII.—East Friesland incorporated with Prussia.

On the 12th of July the king returned to Berlin; on the 28th of that month the peace was definitively signed, and great rejoicings took place in the capital and throughout the whole kingdom. It added to Frederick's dominions a province comprehending nearly 13,800 square miles, with a million and a half of inhabitants, and yielding a revenue of 3,500,000 dollars. If the king of Prussia had reason to congratulate himself upon this acquisition, the loss was most keenly felt by Maria Theresa. "All misfortunes," writes Robinson, the English envoy, "appear trifling to her in comparison with the cession of Silesia: she thinks that the fairest

jewel of her crown has been wrested from her. She forgets the queen, and, whenever she sees a Silesian, bursts into tears like a woman." But while Frederick had increased the material elements of his power, he had augmented his moral influence in a still greater proportion by his conquest. Fleury called him the "arbiter of Europe," and Walpole, the English minister, wrote to his master that "the king of Prussia now held in his hands the balance of European power."

The king had not quitted the camp for the capital to repose upon his laurels, as many a sovereign would have done, but by incessant labour and activity to procure for his people the blessings of peace, which, as a sharp-sighted politician, would, he foresaw, not be of long duration. All the resources of his mighty mind were employed to repair the losses which his subjects had sustained by the war, and at the same time to replenish his treasury, which was so exhausted that, only four days before the battle of Chotusitz, he had sent valuable effects to Berlin to be sold.

The first object of his attention was Silesia: for here not only were the wounds inflicted by war to be healed, but it was necessary to convince the inhabitants that they would fare no worse for the change of masters. Frederick was aware that, if he only afforded this province assistance and encouragement, he should be sure to find in it copious financial resources, which the former government had not the skill to discover, though it was well known what

value the sovereign attached to Silesia. The king confirmed the city of Breslau in the possession of all its privileges, declared it the third capital of his dominions, and gave it a right to hold two annual fairs; and in the first two years he attended the spring fairs himself, with a numerous retinue, in order to bring them into vogue. He employed the labouring class upon the fortifications, advanced money for useful manufactures and institutions, invited those who had been persecuted on account of their religion to return, and provided for the invalid soldiers. Having thus attended to the most important objects, he visited his Westphalian provinces, and went to the baths of Aix la Chapelle.

It was about this time that the king issued a mandate against the oppression of the people by civil officers, by which he says many "have not only been totally ruined but forced to leave the country . . . . . His majesty must have officers, and will always take care that they shall have what is their right by contract; but he will not allow them to act tyranically towards the subjects, and to treat their persons and property as though they were the serfs of the officers." He therefore enjoins the General Directory to which this order is addressed, "to remind all officers to behave in a christian manner towards the peasants and subjects; otherwise, if any misconduct of this kind comes to his majesty's knowledge, he will make a rigorous example of the offender; for it is as criminal in an officer to drive a subject or peasant out of the country as to drive a soldier out of the ranks."

It was only four years since Frederick's father had in 1738 issued a remarkable mandate forbidding "the barbarous practice of beating the people in a scandalous manner with sticks and whips like brute beasts"—a fact which, coupled with the order of the young monarch, shows to what deplorable oppression the lower classes in Prussia were subject till nearly the middle of the last century.

But Frederick did not stop there. In June 1743 he ordered all sentences in criminal cases to be forwarded to him, that the people in the provinces might not be tormented at pleasure. At length, in January 1744, an ordinance was issued declaring that every subject should be at liberty to submit his grievances and complaints, representations and petitions, to the king himself. Convinced of the defects of the judicial system, he took measures for expediting processes, and directed Cocceji, the minister, to draw up a plan for a reform of justice. Cocceji found that those defects arose from the circumstance that the tribunals were composed of young, inexperienced, and ignorant presidents and councillors, who had purchased their places during the late reign; that the civil officers, having very small salaries or none at all, were intent on making as much as they could by fees, and not kept in check by regular visitations; lastly, that men of ability would not follow the profession of advocates, on account of the obnoxious costume attached to it, and therefore such offices were filled by needy and unqualified persons, who sucked the very blood out of the people. The objections raised by Arnim,

then minister of justice, and the war which soon afterwards broke out, again prevented the king from attending for a time to this matter.

From Aix la Chapelle Frederick went back to Silesia, which province he thenceforward visited frequently and traversed in all directions. On returning from these excursions, he resided sometimes at Charlottenburg, at others at Potsdam, or even at Rheinsberg. He gave encouragement to artists and manufacturers to settle in his dominions, and commenced the work published at a later period with the title of "History of my Time." The new opera-house in Berlin was opened; dancers were brought from France, singers from Italy, and they were paid royally but not profusely. Exorbitant demands he rejected saying: "What I gave as prince was my own; as king I am the treasurer of my people." Thus he dismissed Potier, the ballet-master, because he had conducted himself in a rude and insolent manner towards the directors of the opera. With this man a demoiselle Roland, an admirable dancer, was so intimately connected, that she too quitted Berlin. The king spared no money to retain her; but he deemed it beneath him to recall Potier on her account. In an article which Frederick himself wrote on this subject for the Berlin papers, he observes: "Without enquiring here what was the nature of the connexion between demoiselle Roland and Potier, it was found impracticable to separate them; so that there would be no other way to regain one of the greatest dancers,

in Europe, but by burdening one's self at the same time with the most egregious fool and the rudest clown that ever Terpsichore had upon her list. Thus there is no gold without alloy, no rose without thorns."

Frederick expended also considerable sums on public buildings, and such is the classic style of their architecture that the eye dwells with pleasure, even at the present day, on those structures. He instituted a board of architecture, beautified the park, established an office for maps and plans, and purchased at a high price the late cardinal Polignac's collection of antiquities, statues, vases, and implements, which were deposited at Charlottenburg. This valuable collection was carried off in 1760 by the Russians when they plundered that palace. He had fig-trees and vines brought from Marseilles, to be cultivated in the extensive gardens of the same palace. Frugal in all things, he united with economy a dignity truly royal, and on public occasions was not sparing of any suitable expense. To awaken domestic industry, to increase the productions of the soil, to promote the manufacture of raw materials, and to keep specie in the country, were the objects of his most particular attention: his grand aim being to render his dominions as independent of foreign states as possible in regard to the supply of their wants. To this end, he invited industrious colonists and artisans, especially silk spinners and weavers, to settle in his dominions; encouraging the production of silk in the country,

by premiums and directing mulberry-trees to be planted by the road-sides, in church-yards, and waste pieces of ground. For the benefit of commerce he regulated river navigation and facilitated the communication between the different provinces of the kingdom by means of canals. The canal of Plauen, constructed in the first years of his reign for connecting the Elbe and the Oder, was finished in 1745, and the execution of an old plan for a communication between the Oder and Havel was begun in 1743 and completed by the Finow canal in 1749.

Some of the king's regulations, it is true, were more accordant with the spirit of his time than that of the present age. He forbade, for instance, young gentlemen of wealthy families to travel in foreign countries without his special permission, on the ground that in exchange for the money which they spent abroad they brought back nothing but follies and vices, and that Prussia contained within itself abundant means of instruction. Agreeably to the principles then adopted by all states and nations, checks were imposed upon the commerce with other countries. His incessant efforts to promote the general welfare, nevertheless, richly entitled him to the enviable designation of father of his country.

These his pacific labours were crowned by an indefatigable cultivation of the arts and sciences, and his example in this respect operated upon those immediately about his person. Thus, in 1741,

marshal count Schmettau and count Borck, the minister, formed a plan for a literary society to meet alternately in their houses. Jordan and Bielefeld sought to enroll in it members of corresponding sentiments. The king soon declared himself the patron of this society, assigned to it handsome apartments in the palace, and brought about the incorporation of the old Academy with it. This institution, called the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres, consisted of ordinary members, to whose appointment a salary was attached, and honorary, who were persons holding high offices of state. Maupertuis became its president in 1746. Of the Academy, the king himself was an active member. Many of his productions—papers on the history of his country, on the influence of religion, manners and customs, on the progress of his nation in arts and sciences, on forms of government, on the laws, and various other subjects—were read before the Academy. He exercised a still greater influence over it by the scrupulous selection of new members. The Academy itself was divided into four classes. Physics, mathematics, speculative philosophy, and philology, had each six ordinary members. Its memoirs were published annually; it proposed prize-questions, and rewarded the best essay with a medal of the value of fifty ducats on the anniversary of its foundation, the 23d of January 1744. Though most of the members were Germans, yet all papers to be read before it were required to be written in French. This anomaly is

undoubtedly to be ascribed to Frederick's influence; still it cannot be denied that this institution laboured assiduously in the cultivation of science, and contributed extensively to the enlightenment and instruction of the Prussian nation. The principal source of the income of the Society consisted in the exclusive sale of the almanacs; and through this channel it had the means of operating upon all classes of the population.

While thus promoting the arts of peace, the king took good care to strengthen his newly-acquired provinces, to augment his army, and to be prepared for any contingency. In Silesia, the fortifications of Glogau, Brieg, Neisse, Kosel, and Glatz, were repaired and strengthened: and magazines were established in those fortresses. The engineers had everywhere to follow the designs of the king; and, in 1743, he laid with his own hand the foundation stone of Fort Preussen at Neisse, on a spot where he had himself placed the first battery against the town in the campaign of 1741. Glatz was raised by new works to the rank of one of the principal fortresses of the kingdom. In extending the fortifications of the place, there were found the statues of two saints, Nepomuck, the patron-saint of Bohemia, and Florian, a protector from fire. They were both preserved till the king came to Glatz, and he was then asked what should be done with them. "Florian," he replied, "is serviceable against fire, but he does not interest me: but we must pay some respect to the patron of Bohemia."

The statue of the latter was accordingly placed on the topmost platform of the round tower in the works of Glatz. At Frederick's next visit, he perceived that the saint's face was turned towards Silesia, and observed with a smile that this was not right, and that he ought to turn it towards the country which belonged to him by right. The king's suggestion was accordingly complied with. Kosel, in Upper Silesia, hitherto unfortified, was likewise surrounded with strong works, which served to render the frontiers towards Austria more secure.

The force of the regiments was increased one-third; several new regiments of cavalry were raised in Silesia, and the king was particularly solicitous to infuse a better spirit into this branch of the service, which, undervalued by his father and the old Dessauer, had lost its former reputation. Thus, he availed himself of the short period of inactivity after the battle of Mollwitz, to teach his cavalry to manœuvre, and to acquire greater rapidity in their movements. He continued to pursue the same course during the peace, and in 1744 gave the officers regulations, in which appears this classic injunction: "The king hereby forbids all officers of cavalry, upon pain of being broke with ignominy, ever to suffer themselves to be attacked in any action by the enemy: the Prussians, on the contrary, must always attack him." In manœuvres, he never considered any cavalry attack brisk enough, unless he was sprinkled with the foam of the horses

when he cried "Halt!" By his exertions, his army, which, at the death of his father, amounted to no more than 76,000 men, was increased in four years to 120,000; and, well aware that upon this depended the safety of his country, he strove to give it the highest degree of perfection. Notwithstanding all these expensive arrangements, Frederick contrived in the space of two years to replenish his empty coffers, and to place himself in a condition to carry on with his own means any war into which he might be forced, without requiring sacrifices from his country, or soliciting foreign aid.

While thus performing the duties of a sovereign at home, he kept an attentive eye on the political horizon. Since he seceded from the alliance against Austria, that power had gained considerable military advantages. The French army in Bohemia, under the marshals Broglio and Belleisle, was obliged to retreat from Prague, where it was nearly famished; favoured by night and fog it slipped away at last, leaving behind a garrison of about a thousand invalids, which soon capitulated, and was allowed to march off to Eger. The Austrians were now at liberty to direct all their efforts against Bavaria; and the day after the elector was crowned emperor, as Charles VII., they took possession of his capital, Münich, which, however, he recovered with the aid of field-marshal count Seckendorf. This was the same officer whom we have seen exercising extraordinary influence over Frederick William I. and the court of Prussia, in the quality of ambassador in

Berlin from the emperor Charles VI. On his recall from Berlin, he was employed in the war against the Turks, but with such ill-success, that, on a charge of treachery, he was sent in confinement to the fortress of Grätz. On his release, after the death of the emperor, he entered into the Bavarian service. On the 9th of May, 1742, prince Charles of Lorraine defeated part of the Bavarian army at Simpach, and Charles VII. was a second time obliged to leave his capital. His dominions again fell into the hands of the Austrians, and as Charles had made the Bohemians take the oath of allegiance to him at Prague, Maria Theresa revenged herself by requiring his subjects to do the same to her at Münich.

Meanwhile, England, in resentment for the succours afforded by France to the Spaniards, with whom she was at war, resolved to give active assistance to Austria against France. George II. formed an alliance in behalf of the Pragmatic Sanction with the republic of the United Netherlands, where, in the autumn of 1742, a pragmatic army, as it was called, of 50,000 men was collected. The king of England took the command of it in person, and, in February, 1743, led it, in spite of all the protestations of Frederick and of the emperor, through Juliers and Cologne to the Mayn, for the purpose of effecting a junction with prince Charles of Lorraine. Here, however, he was met by a French army of 60,000 men, under marshal de Noailles, at Dettingen. The French commenced the attack.

The king advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, when his horse, frightened at the cannonade, ran away, and had nearly carried him into the enemy's lines before one of his attendants could stop him. His majesty then dismounted, and fought on foot at the head of his Hanoverians. Drawing his sword, and throwing himself into the attitude of a fencing-master, he continued to expose himself without flinching to the fire of the French. The duke of Cumberland, at the head of the guards, not only exhibited proofs of that valour which has never been denied him, but also displayed a humanity which he had not the reputation of possessing. Having received a wound, he would not allow the surgeon to dress it till he had attended to a French prisoner who had suffered more severely than himself, saying: "He is in a worse state than I am, and may not be able to obtain that assistance which I am sure to do." On this occasion, the Honourable Mr. Townshend (afterwards marquis Townshend) commenced his military career, when very young, as ensign in the guards. It happened that during the engagement a cannon-ball killed a drummer near him, and scattered his brains in every direction. Townshend's eyes were fixed upon the ghastly object, and it seemed wholly to engross his thoughts. A superior officer observing him, imagined that the novice was intimidated by the sight, and accosted him in language intended to cheer his spirits. "Oh!" replied the youth, "I am not frightened; I am only

puzzled to make out how a fellow with such a quantity of brains came to be here."

The French, owing to their own impetuosity, were defeated with the loss of 5000 men, and obliged to repass the Mayn with precipitation. The king pursued them across the Rhine, which prince Charles had already passed at the head of the Austrians. Frederick, in the History of his own Time, frankly admits that "the victory of Dettingen gave by no means as much pleasure to the king of Prussia as it did to the king of England." Noailles, after his defeat, went to confer with the emperor, who, without territories, without hope, and even without resources for his subsistence, had sought refuge at Frankfurt, and gave him a letter of credit for 40,000 crowns, which was thankfully received.

In September, England, Holland, and Austria concluded a treaty of alliance at Worms, to which Sardinia and Saxony afterwards acceded, and George II. wrote significantly to Maria Theresa, "Madam, that which is worth taking is worth retaking." The letter fell into the hands of Frederick, who was already upon his guard. The emperor sued for peace, and France offered to evacuate Germany, if the queen of Hungary would restore his hereditary dominions to that prince; but she haughtily replied that she should keep them as a compensation for Silesia. The treaty of Worms guaranteed the *status quo* of 1739; the object of the allies was therefore sufficiently mani-

fest, and the intention to wrest Silesia from the king of Prussia was clearly expressed. Under these circumstances, the court of France resolved to sound Frederick and to ascertain whether he was disposed to join it against Austria and her allies. It was thought that Voltaire, owing to his influence with Frederick, would be the fittest person to accomplish this object, and accordingly, towards the end of 1743, that renowned writer appeared in Berlin in the demi-official capacity of a diplomatist. Of his abilities in that character, the king speaks rather contemptuously. "He had some patrons at Versailles, and thought this a sufficient reason for giving himself the airs of a negociator. His brilliant imagination ran riot in the vast field of politics. He brought with him no credentials, and his mission turned out a mere farce, a pleasantry."

But though the king had so mean an opinion of Voltaire's talents for business, yet, when his coming was first proposed, he gave him the warmest invitation to Berlin. The account of this visit from the pen of Voltaire himself, though inaccurate in many of the details, and written at a time when he entertained extreme ill-will towards the king of Prussia, is very amusing. He tells us that, as it was necessary to assign some pretext for leaving France just then, he attributed his departure to a quarrel with the ex-bishop of Mirepoix, who held the office of *ministre de la feuille des bénéfices*, and who had persuaded the king to refuse his approval of Voltaire's election to the place in the French

Academy vacant by the death of cardinal Fleury. Louis XV. approved of this expedient. "I wrote in consequence to the king of Prussia," continues Voltaire, "that I could no longer endure the persecutions of this Theatin [the bishop had been a monk of that order] and that I should take refuge under the protection of a philosophical sovereign, out of the reach of the insults of such a bigot. As this prelate was accustomed to sign 'L'anc. eveq. de Mirepoix,' and his handwriting was very illegible, we used to read *L'ane* instead of the abbreviation for *L'ancien*. This was a fertile theme for jokes, and never was negociation more gay. The king of Prussia, who was never better pleased than to laugh at courtier monks and prelates, poured forth a deluge of sarcasms against the *Ane de Mirepoix*, and entreated me to come to him. I took good care to show my letters and his answers, so that the affair reached the ears of the bishop. He went and complained of me to Louis XV. because, as he said, I made him pass for a fool at foreign courts. The king answered that this was a settled thing, and that he must not mind it. This answer of Louis, which was not at all consistent with his character, always struck me as extraordinary. For my part, I had the pleasure at the same time to revenge myself on a bishop who had excluded me from the Academy, to make a most agreeable journey, and to put myself in the way of rendering service to the king and the state.

"When I arrived in Berlin, the king gave me a

lodging in his palace, as he had done on my former visits. He led the same sort of life as he had done ever since his accession to the throne. He rose at five in summer and six in winter. If you wish to learn what were the ceremonies of the royal *lever*, wherein consisted the right of the *grande* and *petite entrée*, what were the duties of his grand almoner, his high chamberlain, his first gentleman of the bedchamber, his pages, I will tell you that a single footman came to light his fire, to dress, and to shave him: indeed he dressed himself, almost without assistance. His bed-room was handsome: a rich balustrade of silver decorated with well-executed Cupids of the same metal, seemed to guard a bed, the curtains of which were seen. But behind the curtains there was a library instead of a bed; while the king slept on a wretched truckle-bed with a small mattrass placed behind a screen in one corner of the room.

"The king's prime minister now arrived by the back stairs with a great bundle of papers under his arm. This prime minister was a clerk, who lodged in the second floor of the house of Fredersdorf, a soldier who had become his valet-de-chambre and favourite, having formerly attended the king when he was prisoner at Cüstrin. The secretaries of state sent all their despatches to this clerk, [in reality the king's chief secretary] who made extracts from them. The king had the answers to them written on the margin in very few words. Thus all the affairs of the whole kingdom were soon

despatched. The secretaries of state, or other ministers, very rarely had audiences of the king: there were some of them, indeed, to whom he had never spoken. His father had introduced such regularity into the finances, everything was done with such military exactness, and the obedience to orders was so unlimited, that four hundred leagues of country were as easily managed as the estate of an abbey.

"About eleven, the king, in his boots, reviewed his regiment of guards in his garden; and at the same hour all the colonels did the same all over the kingdom. After the parade he dined; his brothers, the general officers, and one or two of his chamberlains, dined with him. The dinner was as good as it could be in a country where there is neither game, nor tolerable butcher's meat, and where all the flour must be brought from Magdeburg.

"After dinner, the king retired alone to his cabinet and wrote verses till five or six o'clock. At that hour, a young man, named D'Arget*, who had been secretary to Valori, the French envoy, came and read to him. At seven commenced the concert, at which the king performed on the flute as ably as the first professional musician. The music executed was also frequently of the king's composition, for there was no art but what he cultivated."

As a contrast to the simplicity of Frederick's

* Here Voltaire is inaccurate; D'Arget was not in the king's service till after the second Silesian war.

ordinary life, Voltaire gives a magnificent account of his splendour on state occasions.

"The king, when he went to Berlin, exhibited great magnificence on days of public ceremony. It was a fine sight for vain men, that is to say for almost the whole world, to see him at table, surrounded by twenty princes of the empire, dining off the most beautiful gold plate in Europe, and attended by thirty handsome pages and as many Heyducs, superbly dressed, carrying large dishes of massive gold. On these occasions, and on these alone, the great officers of the crown made their appearance. After these entertainments, the court went to the opera in the great theatre, three hundred feet long, built by Knobelsdorf, one of Frederick's chamberlains, without the assistance of an architect. The most admirable singers and the best dancers were at this time in the pay of the king of Prussia."

Voltaire dwells with great self-complacency on his negociation and its results, having evidently a much higher opinion of his diplomatic powers than his royal host. "Amidst fêtes, operas, and suppers," he says, "my secret negociation advanced. The king allowed me to speak to him on all subjects, and I often mingled questions relative to France and Austria in conversations on the Eneid or Livy. The king sometimes became excited, and then he told me that, as long as the court of France continued to knock at every door in order to obtain peace, he would never go to war in its favour. I

sent to him my reflections on the subject written on one side of a sheet of paper. He answered on the other side my bold remarks, in which I said: 'Can you doubt that the house of Austria will demand the restitution of Silesia on the first opportunity?' His answer to this question, written on the margin was:

Ils seront reçu, Biribi,
A la façon de Barbari, mon ami.

This negociation of an entirely new kind concluded by a tirade from the king of Prussia, in one of his moments of irritation against his *dear uncle*, the king of England. These two sovereigns disliked one another. The king of Prussia used to say, 'George is Frederick's uncle, but George is not the king of Prussia's uncle.' At last he said to me, 'Let France declare war against England, and *I* will march.' This was all I wanted. I returned as speedily as possible to the court of France, to make my report. I gave some hopes which I had been led to entertain in Berlin and which did not prove delusive. The following spring the king of Prussia made a fresh treaty with France and advanced into Bohemia with 100,000 men."

In the middle of February 1744, count Seckendorf arrived in Berlin as envoy from the unfortunate Charles VII., and found the king most favourably disposed towards that prince. Frederick was alike anxious to effect a general peace, to support the new head of the empire in his dignity, and to maintain the liberty and independence of the Ger-

man princes and his own influence in the affairs of the empire. To this end, he conceived the idea of founding a Germanic confederation—an idea subsequently carried into effect by Napoleon in the confederation of the Rhine—powerful enough to defend the interests of its members against the preponderant power of Austria. With this object, he took a journey in the empire, upon pretext of visiting Pyrmont for the benefit of the waters; but the German princes would not furnish soldiers for slaughter without being paid for them, and the finances of France were too low to afford them subsidies. "No money, no German princes!" he exclaimed. He felt that in the ensuing struggle with Austria he should have to depend almost entirely on himself. Importuned for succour by Charles VII., he concluded on the 22nd of May 1744, a union at Frankfurt with him and also with the king of Sweden as elector of Hesse Cassel, "for the purpose of restoring to Germany its liberty, to the emperor his dignity, and peace to Europe." A second treaty with Charles VII. related to the conquest and partition of Bohemia.

In France a considerable change had recently taken place. Cardinal Fleury was dead, and the reign of mistresses, with all its intrigues and contradictions, had commenced. The state had no governing head. Frederick was well aware of this, and he took care one day to intimate as much to the French ambassador. Being at the opera, where the curtain was drawn up a little so as to

show the legs of some French dancers, who were cutting their capers, the king turned towards the English ambassador who sat near him, and said in a whisper, but loud enough to be heard by the ambassador of France: "Look there—what a perfect image of the French ministry! all legs and no head!"

Still France was the only power whose alliance could be serviceable to Frederick: but to negociate successfully with such a ministry was no easy task. The king selected count Rothenburg for his new ambassador to Paris, who, having been himself in the French service, and having relatives at the court of Versailles, was best acquainted with the state of things there. He resolved however to put to the test the count's qualifications for that post. Frederick, therefore, sent for him, and assuming the part of the French minister, he raised all sorts of difficulties and counter-arguments against his own overtures, without sparing himself in the least. Rothenburg confuted all that he advanced with such ability that the king at length said: "If you speak as well there, and adduce as strong arguments, you cannot fail of success."

Nor was the king mistaken. Rothenburg carried his point. France armed afresh, and on the 5th of June 1744 an offensive alliance on the basis of the Frankfurt union was concluded with Prussia against Austria, for the protection of the emperor. Louis XV. promised to send an army to the Upper and another to the Lower Rhine; while Frederick

was to invade Bohemia, and to have for his share of the conquests that might be made a part of Bohemia bordering on Silesia and the Austrian portion of that province.

It was now from Russia alone that Frederick expected any unpleasant interference. In that country on the throne of which the empress Elizabeth was now seated, every body was needy and of course the more accessible to the bribes of England. The empress had a personal antipathy to Frederick, and the court naturally participated in that feeling. He nevertheless contrived to gain a party there, by bringing about a union between Peter, the heir to the throne, and the princess Catherine of Anhalt-Zerbst,—afterwards the empress Catherine—whose father was then a general in the Prussian service, and zealously devoted to the interests of the king.

Before the sword was drawn, the extinction of the line of the princes of East Friesland afforded Frederick occasion to add that country to his dominions, the reversion of it having been granted by the emperor to his grandfather in 1694. Regardless of the remonstrances and protests of the house of Hanover, he chose the shortest way to put himself in possession of his right; sending his troops to take possession of it, on the 1st of June, and receiving the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants.

CHAPTER XIX.

Renewal of War.—March of the Prussian Army to Bohemia.—Siege of Prague.—Exploit of David Kraul.—Surrender of Prague.—Arrival of Prince Charles of Lorraine in Bohemia.—Retreat of the Prussians for want of provisions.—Passage of the Elbe by the Austrians.—Gallant Action of Zieten and Wedell.—The King evacuates Bohemia.—General Einsiedel, commandant of Prague; his disgrace and dismissal.—Retreat of the Prussians to Silesia.—The King goes to Berlin to obtain pecuniary Resources.—Occurrences in the royal family of Prussia.—Circumstances attending the Marriage of the Princess Ulrica.—The Austrian Army enters Silesia; but is obliged to leave it again.—The Quadruple Alliance.—Death of the Emperor Charles VII.—Successes of Winterfeld.—Perilous enterprize executed by Zieten.—Battle of Hohenfriedberg.—General Gessler and the Regiment of Bayreuth.—The Austrian General Berlichingen and the Prussian Hussar.—Victory of the French at Fontenoy.—Frederick's Rebuke of bloodthirsty Peasants.—Encampment of the hostile Armies in Bohemia.—Capture of the Fortress of Kosel.—The King concludes a Treaty with England.—Francis Grand-duke of Tuscany elected Emperor.—Battle of Sorr.—Return of the King to Berlin.

THE Austrians under prince Charles of Lorraine, whom we left on the Rhine, were preparing to follow up their advantages and to seek the French, when their operations in this quarter were suddenly suspended, and their army was recalled to Bohemia. This moment Frederick deemed the most suitable for renewing the war. He calculated that the French would closely follow the retreating Austrians and prevent them from being troublesome to him

in Bohemia. Another French army was to enter Westphalia and to cover him against Hanover. This plan could not fail of success, if his allies did their duty.

On the 10th of August 1744, the foreign ambassadors were apprized in a printed manifesto of the reasons which determined the king to hasten to the succour of the emperor; and on the 15th he set out to join the army, which, 100,000 strong, marched in three columns upon Bohemia, being designated in the manifesto as imperial auxiliaries. One column was led by the king himself through Saxony to the left bank of the Elbe; the second by the hereditary prince of Anhalt through Lusatia; the third by marshal Schwerin from Silesia through Braunau. The old prince of Anhalt covered the electorate, and general Marwitz Upper Silesia. A passage through Saxony, if the king had applied for it, would of course have been refused him; he forbore therefore to demand it, and marched direct for Pirna, where he was joined by the regiments from Magdeburg; and he was highly amused with the show of resistance made here and there by the Saxon government. His troops observed excellent discipline, paid for every thing with ready money, and obtained supplies in greater abundance than they needed.

Zieten, with the life-hussars, preceded the royal column. He found Bohemia stripped of troops; and it was from the cavalry regiment of Esterhazy alone that he had to encounter any serious resist-

ance: but the hussars fell upon it with such impetuosity that few escaped. The splendid sabretashes of the enemy excited the cupidity of the hussars: the lives of their owners were sacrificed, and presently the greater part of the Zieten hussars were decorated with these coveted spoils of the Esterhazy horse.

On the 2d of September, the Prussian army was collected before Prague, but the city could not be immediately attacked for want of heavy artillery, which had been despatched from Saxony up the Elbe and had not yet arrived. The Austrian general Bathiany was hastily summoned from Bavaria to cover the Bohemian capital, and six thousand men were constantly employed on the fortifications; while the whole kingdom held solemn fasts, and prayed Heaven to pour out the vial of its wrath upon the heretic king. Frederick, on his part, sent off with all possible secrecy a detachment under general Haack, to seize Bathiany's grand magazine at Beraun; but the design got wind, and Haack found the enemy prepared for his coming. He had crossed the bridge near the town and forced one of the gates, when he perceived two bodies of cavalry advancing to attack him, and had only just time to retire to a neighbouring height. Here, forming his troops into a square, he repulsed the enemy, and returned honourably, though without executing his errand, to the head-quarters, while Bathiany removed his magazines to Pilsen, where they were more secure. Frederick had afterwards

cause to lament that he had not employed all his force to prevent this operation.

At length the heavy artillery arrived before Prague, and, on the 10th of September, the Prussians opened the trenches in three different places. Schwerin commanded the siege, under the immediate orders of the king. On the 12th, he stormed fort Ziska in open day, and took two redoubts in the rear of it, which the French had thrown up and called Swallow Nests. A fatal accident embittered this success. The king, accompanied by several officers, had quitted the trenches near Bubenetz to observe Schwerin's attack. The number of persons at this spot attracted the notice of the enemy, who directed their guns against it, and a ball killed at the king's side prince Albert Frederick of Brandenburg-Schwedt, who had commanded the preceding night in the approaches as major-general *du jour*, and had distinguished himself in the battle of Mollwitz. Frederick was deeply affected and wrote to the chief gouvernante, Madame de Camas, to acquaint his mother as delicately as possible with this loss.

In the following days, the Prussians kept up such a heavy fire from their well manned batteries as to do great injury to the ramparts, to set the water-mill on fire, to demolish many houses, and to destroy the sluices of the Mulda. The water was now so low, that it might be forded anywhere, and the city stormed on this side, which had neither wall nor ramparts. In an attack made on the 14th

upon three bastions at once, a volunteer, David Kraul, of Magdeburg, a private in the regiment of Brunswick-Bevern, was the first to mount one of the bastions, where, after he had fired all his ball-cartridges, he defended himself with the sword till his comrades followed him and took the work. To reward this heroic deed, the king not only ordered the man to be entertained in his uniform of private at the table of the marshals, but made him a handsome present, ennobled him by the name of Kraul von Ziskaberg, and promoted him to a lieutenancy in the grenadier battalion of Byla. The successful issue of this assault convinced Ogilvie and count Harsch, the commandants of Prague, that a longer defence was impracticable. They resolved to capitulate, and on the 16th surrendered themselves prisoners of war, with the whole garrison, amounting to 12,000 men. This conquest cost the Prussians only forty killed and about the same number wounded.

An Austrian officer, named Lentulus, who then held no higher commission than that of captain, filled with generous indignation at finding himelf a prisoner with his company, broke his sword. The king of Prussia, pleased with this action, invited him frequently to his table, and would have taken him at once into his service; but it was not till the conclusion of the peace that Lentulus could be prevailed upon to accept the king's offers; and he became in the sequel one of Frederick's distinguished generals.

The Prussian army advanced without further loss of time. Between the 23rd of September and the 2nd of October, general Nassau took the towns of Tabor, Budweis, and Frauenberg without much difficulty. It was by the advice of marshal Belle-isle that the king pursued this route, as he contended that by this operation the communication with Bavaria would be re-established; but the consequences were disastrous and exposed him and his army to the danger of destruction. Many circumstances had within a short time taken a different turn from what the king had calculated upon. The brilliant capture of Prague authorised him to hope that Saxony would be induced to withdraw from the Austrian alliance: but, the court of Vienna having fixed the wavering king Augustus by the promise of the Silesian principalities of Glogau and Sagan, he placed at the beginning of October an auxiliary force at the disposal of Austria.

Frederick's allies, the French, had on their part managed matters very ill. Prince Charles of Lorraine, had, as I have already stated, been ordered to return from the Rhine with all possible expedition; and, in the presence of the combined French, Bavarians, and Hessians, this able commander effected the passage of the Rhine in such a masterly manner that in a short time he entered Bohemia, without being annoyed on his march by the enemy in his rear. Being joined by Bathiany and the Saxon corps, he occupied with his army, 90,000 strong, an almost impregnable camp in the circle of Prachin,

intending to pass the Mulda in the rear of the Prussians, to cut them off entirely from Prague, and to destroy them by famine. Famine, however, was beforehand with the enemy. In the faulty position which Frederick had taken up contrary to his better judgment, he had not sufficiently supplied himself with provisions. The Bohemians of all classes cordially hated the Prussians, and placed out of their reach those necessaries which the roving parties of Pandours and Hulans could not carry away. The inhabitants of the villages forsook their dwellings, buried their provisions; and fled to the woods; and if any individual, yielding to the inducements held out, rendered a service to the Prussians, inhuman punishments awaited him. Under these deplorable circumstances, many of the soldiers deserted, and the others began loudly to express their discontent. It was impossible to defend Prague and at the same time to penetrate into Austria. The enemy, stronger by one-half, could not be drawn into a pitched battle. After many consultations with his generals, and after having been caught as it were in a net, and for a month without intelligence of the occurrences in the rest of Europe, the king retreated with some loss, incessantly pursued by the light troops of the enemy, and on the 9th of November crossed the Elbe at Kollin and Kuttenberg.

It was only on two occasions that the Prussians sustained any loss worth mentioning, in this retreat. On the first, lieutenant-colonel Janus, having been sent with 200 hussars to procure provisions at a

village near Tabor, was surrounded by a detachment of Austrians, of such superior force that he had no choice but death or flight. He preferred the former, and sacrificed his life: his hussars were dispersed. The other loss Frederick incurred through a fault that reflects honour on his heart. Three hundred sick and wounded were lying in the towns of Tabor and Budweis, and could not be removed for want of vehicles. To prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy, the king left 3000 healthy troops to garrison both places, hoping, after he had gained a battle, to be able to release them. The skill of the enemy thwarted this intention, and when Frederick would have withdrawn at least the 3000 healthy men, he found that it was too late.

The only advantage gained during this melancholy period was in the action near Tein on the 9th of October. Zieten, who a few days before had been promoted to the rank of major-general, here defeated the Austrian general Ghylany and colonel Trenck. The king attached such consequence to this success that he rode out to meet the hussars, and led the victorious corps in triumph to the camp. On the other hand, Budweis, Tabor, and Frauenberg fell again into the hands of the Austrians.

It was Frederick's design to halt at Kollin and to give battle to the enemy. To this end, and to secure the communication between Prague and Silesia, he occupied Kollin and Pardubitz, both situated on the other bank of the Elbe, with a strong force. Prince Charles, on the contrary, following

the king, but showing no disposition to risk a battle, chose so admirable an encampment near Breloch, that he was inassailable. He considered the campaign at an end, and would have gone into winter-quarters, had he not received positive orders from the court of Vienna to prosecute the war, to push on under all circumstances beyond the Elbe, to cut off the communication of the Prussians with Prague, and thus drive them entirely out of Bohemia. Marshal Traun, an able general, of whom Frederick had for some weeks past, and especially during his retreat, been as it were taking lessons, was charged with the execution of this plan. By false manœuvres and reports the king was led to believe that the marshal's object was the recovery of Prague or Kollin, and he was thus induced to pay particular attention to those two places: of the real design; that of crossing the Elbe, Frederick had the less suspicion as he considered it impracticable, and had occupied the bank of the river in such a manner that no movement of the enemy could escape him. All the king's vigilance, however, was thrown away. On the day before the commencement of the enemy's operation, prince Charles directed some Hulans and hussars to swim across the Elbe to the bank occupied by the Prussians. Here they concealed themselves in a thick wood, where they took prisoners or shot all the officers and messengers going to the king. It was owing to the negligence of a Prussian hussar-patrole that these Austrians were able to cross the river unobserved and to establish themselves on the hither bank; and this was the first,

and certainly very great, occasion that Frederick had to be dissatisfied with Zieten's hussars.

It was in the night of the 19th of November that the united Austrian and Saxon army approached the Elbe, opposite to the village of Teinitz, with such silence and caution, as not to be perceived by the Prussian posts along the river till they saw the pontoons arriving. They gave the alarm, but too late. Zieten and lieutenant-colonel Wedell, who were posted here, instantly repaired to the scene of danger, and sent an officer to the king to apply for succour. On reaching the Elbe they found the enemy's bridge of boats completed near Solonitz, the hither bank, diversified by numerous eminences, occupied by infantry and artillery, and the boldest grenadiers picked out and put foremost to force a passage. The Prussians were received with a tremendous cannonade, but the hussars and grenadiers twice repulsed the advancing foe. Reinforced by fresh troops, the Austrians made a third attempt, and for a moment drove back Wedell's corps, fatigued with its preceding exertions: but Zieten soon put a stop to their triumph. Hastening up with two squadrons, he overthrew the enemy, drove part of them into the Elbe and the others back to the bridge. The Austrian commander, chagrined to find the passage obstructed by a handful of men, developed more and more force, increased the fire of the artillery, sent forward whole regiments, and constructed bridges of boats in several other places. Zieten and Wedell sent fresh messengers to the king: the hopes of speedy succour upheld their

courage. For five hours they disputed every inch of ground with a far superior force, and it was not till they had exhausted all their powder, a great number of their bravest men had fallen, and they saw no prospect of help, that they thought of retreat, which they executed with such ability as even to save the wounded from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The messengers whom the Prussian officers had sent in their necessity to the king were taken, as we have seen, by the concealed Austrian Hulans: so that it was not till the return of Zieten and Wedell that Frederick learned what had happened. He had heard the cannonade, but attributed it to an assault upon Kollin, for the result of which he was under no concern. If he had received the tidings, the Austrians must have been totally defeated; but even the conflict that had just occurred redounded to the glory of the Prussian arms, and Wedell was styled by the king in his works, "the Prussian Leonidas." It was probably owing to his vexation at the negligence of the hussar-patrole that Frederick makes no mention of the extraordinary merit of Zieten in this affair. "How fortunate," exclaimed prince Charles during the fight, "would it be for Maria Theresa if she had such officers!"

At any rate, the passage of the Elbe by the Austrians' deranged anew Frederick's plan of operations. He concentrated his troops near Wischeniowitz, and held a council of war, to decide whether he ought to proceed to Prague and establish himself in Bohemia, or to evacuate that country

entirely and return to Silesia. He himself and most of the generals declared in favour of the latter alternative. The retreat to Silesia was therefore determined upon and forthwith carried into execution. Bülow, Frederick's aide-de-camp, contrived to pass through the enemy's troops with orders to the Prussians still in Bohemia, and especially in Prague, to evacuate the country. General Einsiedel, who commanded the garrison of Prague, evacuated the place on the 26th of November, but without executing the king's orders to blow up the principal fortifications, to destroy the heavy artillery, to burn the gun-carriages, and to throw the muskets of the Austrians into the river. Einsiedel directed his march through Lusatia to Silesia, and would have arrived there without army, but for the resolute general count Rothenburg, who took care to remedy the blunders which he committed. Frederick dismissed him. Prince Leopold of Anhalt, to whom he owed the command of the grenadiers of the life-guard, would not admit him to his presence, alleging that he had stained the honour of the Prussian arms; and, when old marshal Schwerin pleaded in his excuse the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, he fell into disgrace with the king, and retired from the service till Frederick recalled him to it in 1747.

The main army meanwhile commenced its retreat in three columns, partly through the county of Glatz, partly through the narrow passes near Braunau, partly by Trautenau and Schatzlar, and

in the beginning of December entered Silesia. Its march was not a little impeded by bad weather, wretched roads, and the want of necessaries. At the village of Pless, a horde of Pandours attacked the Prussian rear-guard. They had already killed or wounded about forty men, when, amidst the din of the fight, they heard a loud grunting of hogs. They instantly scampered away to the village, whence these delightful tones proceeded, and thought it much more agreeable to kill and eat the hogs than to kill or be themselves killed by foreign soldiers.

In this retreat the numbers of the Prussians were much thinned by desertion. Frederick shared all hardships with his troops, and spared no expence to alleviate their condition as much as possible. He purchased provisions and caused the infantry to be supplied with shoes. It was not till after the arrival of the army at Tannhausen, on the 6th of December, that he left it to repair to Berlin.

Thus terminated this campaign, one of the most disastrous in the whole career of the Prussian monarch. He acknowledged all the faults committed in the course of it by himself and his allies, profited by the lessons which he received from his adversary, marshal Traun, and at a later period observed: "My grand army, which was to swallow up Bohemia and to overrun Austria, met with the fate that befel the invincible armada of Philip II. of Spain."

Severe in judging of the faults committed by

himself, Frederick speaks in high terms of the tactics of the Austrian commander. "The conduct of Traun," he says, "is a model of excellence, which every soldier, fond of his profession, ought to study, in order to imitate it, if he has talents to do so. The king himself confessed that he considered this campaign as his school in the art of war, and marshal Traun as his master. Prosperity is often more dangerous to princes than adversity; the one intoxicates them with presumption, the other renders them cautious and modest."

On the 13th of December, the king set out for Berlin to seek resources for the ensuing campaign; leaving to prince Leopold of Anhalt the command of the army, with which he was to cover the frontiers of Silesia against the victorious enemy and to prevent his further advance into the upper province. It should be observed that, during the campaign, lieutenant-general Marwitz, with about 18,000 Prussians had completely fulfilled his destination, levied contributions in Moravia, and occupied the Hungarian militia. But when he was pressed on the one hand by this militia and on the other by prince Charles of Lorraine, he fell back to Oppeln; and prince Leopold stationed a second corps under general Lehwald about Ottmachau and Neisse, to make head against the Austrians.

On his arrival in Berlin, Frederick set about collecting means for a new conflict. He took six millions out of the treasury, and the provincial states advanced him a million and a half. The silver

plate in the palace of Berlin, the silver orchestra, the chandeliers, and all the other articles of silver in the white hall, were sent by night, to escape the observation of the people, by water to the Mint under the care of the king's confidential servant, Fredersdorf, and the twelve royal Heyducs; and all the sums derived from these sources were employed to amend in 1745 the faults committed in the preceding year.

The occurrences in Frederick's family during the year 1744 are the only bright points in this disastrous period. He had given to his eldest brother the title of prince of Prussia, and thus designated him as heir presumptive to the throne. On the 25th of September 1744, the consort of this prince produced him a son, the first male scion of the then generation of the house of Hohenzollern, who succeeded his illustrious uncle on the Prussian throne. In the campaign of this year prince Henry earned the spurs; and Frederick gave him his favourite residence Rheinsberg, which still continued to be an asylum for the arts. On the 17th of July, his sister Ulrica was married to the heir-apparent to the throne of Sweden, and in December the princess Amelia was elected coadjutrix of the rich abbey of Quedlinburg.

The circumstances which are related to have led to the marriage of the princess Ulrica are rather curious. It is said that the Swedish ambassador, who had been sent to Berlin to negociate a union with a Prussian princess, was desirous of

obtaining the hand of the younger sister, Amelia, for the prince of Sweden. Amelia was so strongly attached to the tenets of Calvinism in which she had been brought up, that she could not think, without horror of a change to Lutheranism, which would have been necessary in case the projected union had taken place. In this dilemma, she made a confidante of her sister Ulrica and asked her advice as to the best mode of avoiding the marriage. Ulrica, having first ascertained that it was her sister's fixed determination not to submit to any change of religion, advised her to make herself as disagreeable as she could to the Swedish envoy, to treat him with haughtiness and contempt, and to appear as capricious and domineering as possible. This conduct had the desired effect. The ambassador turned from her and began to observe the princess Ulrica, whose conversation and manners presented the strongest contrast to those of her sister. So much was he pleased with her, that he solicited her hand for the heir to the throne of Sweden. The king immediately gave his consent, and so did the princess herself. Amelia was equally astonished and irritated. She thought that her sister had given her the advice upon which she had acted, in order to secure the station which had been destined for herself; and, though Ulrica appears to have acted honestly in this affair, her sister never forgave her. It was while smarting under feelings of vexation at this supposed treachery that Amelia cast a favourable eye upon Trenck,

and it was at one of the entertainments given on occasion of her sister's marriage that her intimacy with that adventurer commenced. It terminated lamentably for both, as we shall see in the sequel.

The court of Vienna now reckoned with certainty upon the speedy recovery of Silesia. In the beginning of December, the Austrians entered the county of Glatz; marshal Lehwald, unable to resist their superior force, shut himself up in the fortress of Glatz. Other Austrian troops penetrated into Upper Silesia; general Marwitz was obliged to fall back to Ratibor, where he died soon afterwards; and prince Dietrich continued the retreat with his corps, through Kosel and Brieg, to the main army near Neisse. Endeavours were made at the same time to regain the Silesians by fair words, and a manifesto, dated the 1st of December, was circulated, in which Maria Theresa declared that she no longer considered herself bound by the treaty of Breslau, but that, on the contrary, she regarded Silesia and the county of Glatz as her property, and claimed obedience from their inhabitants. Nor was there any lack of vituperation against the king: he had, according to this manifesto, not fulfilled the treaty of Breslau; the Catholics were maltreated, the Protestants neglected, the states deprived of their privileges, the Catholic clergy oppressed with exorbitant imposts, and all the subjects reduced to slavery by the cantoning system. Frederick directed this abusive document to be answered, but attached still greater importance

to the success of his arms. The prince of Anhalt had collected 30,000 men near Neisse and with this force crossed the river of the same name: the Austrians, weakened by the departure of the Saxons and of several divisions sent to Bavaria, retreated in such haste that for several nights they encamped upon the snow, and lost a great number of men through frost and desertion. They directed their course towards Moravia and the old Dessauer encamped near Troppau and Jägerndorf. General Nassau, who had rendered such important service during the retreat from Bohemia, that Frederick had invested him with his own riband of the order of the Black Eagle, swept the country about Ratibor. In that town he found 3000 of the enemy, who at first attempted to fight their way through and to escape over the bridge across the Oder; but it broke down under them, and such as were not drowned were cut in pieces or made prisoners. Near Habelschwerdt, Lehwald attacked general Wallis on the 14th of February 1745, with such success, that the latter lost a thousand men killed and prisoners, and several pieces of cannon, while the loss of the Prussians was only thirty men. Thus Silesia was again cleared, the Prussian army filled with fresh courage, and the two contending parties went, for a short time, into winter quarters in their respective countries.

Frederick's cause might easily have been retrieved, had it not sustained fresh disasters in other quarters. On the 8th of January, an alliance,

called the quadruple alliance was concluded at Warsaw, between Austria, England, Saxony, and the United States of Holland. A fortnight afterwards died the emperor Charles VII. The union of Frankfurt fell to pieces of itself, for Charles's son and successor, Max Joseph, was induced by Seckendorf's representations to conclude peace with Austria on the 22d of April, by which he renounced all claims to that country, deserted his allies, and promised his vote at the ensuing election of emperor to the grand-duke of Tuscany; in return for which his dominions were restored to him. Frederick was now left to his own unaided exertions; for no reliance could be placed upon the French. Austria, on her part, was enabled to concentrate her forces and to direct them upon Silesia. "This court," wrote the English ambassador at Vienna, "is determined to regain Silesia, even at the risk of losing Italy. The imperial crown without Silesia is deemed by it not worth wearing."

The Prussian monarch returned in March to Silesia with considerable supplies. He purposed this time to wait till the Austrians should attack him; he disdained engaging in petty skirmishes, but was at length forced to bestow correction on some of the enemy's partisans. Thus, at the end of April, Winterfeld attacked 5000 Hungarians, who had surrounded general Golz, with a battalion and 500 hussars, in the environs of Oppeln, and dispersed them, taking 300 prisoners and all their baggage. On the following day, he fell in with

2000 of the enemy's hussars posted near a morass, and drove them into the swamp, where they either perished or were made prisoners. In an action near Landshut on the 21st and 22d of May, he rendered still more brilliant service. With two regiments of hussars and a few battalions, consisting together of 2400 men, he was directed to watch the movements of the enemy in the mountains. He dispersed 800 Hungarians, who had sneakingly advanced as far as Hirschberg, and took 300 prisoners. General Nadasdy thought to avenge this disgrace, and to envelop Winterfeld with 7000 Hungarians. In a fight that lasted several hours, the troops of the latter made an heroic resistance, and when general Still come to their succour with ten fresh squadrons, the enemy was totally routed and again lost 600 men. For this action, the successful issue of which was owing solely to the judicious arrangements of Winterfeld, he was promoted to the rank of major-general.

Frederick himself had collected the greater part of his forces towards the end of May near Frankenstein, while the margrave Charles, grandson of the Great Elector, and brother of the margrave Albert Frederick, who had fallen a few months before at Prague, occupied Troppau and Jägerndorf with a separate corps of 9000 men. This position, taken for the purpose of keeping an eye upon the Austrian main army, which was sure to come from the mountains either by Schweidnitz, Glatz, or Jägerndorf, had this inconvenience that a chasm was left

between Jägerndorf and Neisse, of which the Austrians had the sagacity to take advantage. They pushed a corps of 20,000 men between the king and the margrave, and separated the two armies, with a view to draw Frederick to Upper Silesia and thus to obtain free scope for an incursion from Landshut. The king, aware of this intention, endeavoured to thwart it by abandoning Upper Silesia as far as Kosel, and drawing in the corps of the margrave, in order to prepare himself by this reinforcement for a decisive battle. The point was how to convey directions to this effect to the margrave; a thing apparently impracticable, because all the roads were so carefully occupied and watched by the enemy that not even a spy could slip past.

Under these circumstances, the king ordered the enterprizing Zieten to fight his way through with his regiment at all hazards, and to carry the margrave an order to break up immediately for Frankenstein: this order he was to communicate to each of his hussars, that, if only one of them succeeded in getting through, the margrave might receive the necessary directions. Zieten, however, could not make up his mind to sacrifice his brave fellows so cruelly; he therefore bethought him of a stratagem, and Fortune favoured its execution.

His hussars had hitherto worn a red dolman and a felt cap; but a new winter uniform, consisting of a blue pelisse and scaly cap, had just arrived for them. The Austrians knew nothing of this uniform, nay it had a great resemblance to that

of one of their own regiments. Zieten resolved to smuggle his men through under Austrian colours. He crossed the Neisse near Ottmachau, and then proceeded at night along byways to Neustadt, where there was a small Prussian garrison, cut off from the rest of the army. The Austrians had that very night made an abortive attack on Neustadt, and were retiring in two columns to their camp at Leobschütz. Zieten, who had to go the same road, joined one of these columns; some Hungarians, whom he had among his hussars, going foremost, and conversing familiarly in their language with the enemy's videttes and posts. The Prussians were not recognized even when an Austrian dragoon regiment passed them. In this manner they marched on from morning till four in the afternoon, when they came in sight of the enemy's camp near Leobschütz; and here it was that they first excited the attention of the Austrians, by turning off into a by-road. The surprise of the enemy at this daring deed left Zieten sufficient time to get far ahead; a few troops only overtook him, but were repulsed. Having fought his way through a detachment of Austrian hussars, which he afterwards met, he arrived at Jägerndorf to the extreme astonishment of the margrave.

His corps was immediately set in motion, and on the 22nd of May commenced its march for the king's camp. Prince Esterhazy, who commanded the Austrians in this quarter, guessed the intention of the Prussians, and resolved, if he could not

wholly prevent their retreat, at least to obstruct it as much as possible. He occupied the road to Neustadt with 20,000 men and a great quantity of artillery; but all his efforts could not repel the Prussians. They pushed forward through the most tremendous fire, and the two regiments commanded by Zieten and Schwerin, which formed the rear, cut three of the enemy's regiments almost entirely in pieces. The Prussians were no further molested, and on the 28th of May they entered the camp of Frankenstein in triumph. The only satisfaction obtained by the Austrians consisted in the reduction, on the 27th of May, of the fortress of Kosel in Upper Silesia, which the Prussians had evacuated. This conquest, indeed, was effected only through the perfidy of an officer who deserted, and informed them that the ditch was not yet finished and might be crossed by wading at a certain place. He showed the way himself to the Pandours, 2000 in number, and mounted the rampart with them. Part of the garrison were cut in pieces and the rest made prisoners. The king had meanwhile learned that prince Charles of Lorraine had been joined at Trautenau by 22,000 Saxons and was marching upon Schatzlar, with a view to recover possession of Silesia as speedily as possible by a battle. Frederick could not prevent him from entering the country; he therefore employed a treacherous spy to carry the prince such accounts as would make him feel perfectly secure, for the purpose of luring him into a trap. He assumed, namely, the appear-

ance of great fear, and pretended to be making preparations for retreating to Breslau and there awaiting the enemy. With this intelligence the spy hastened to the prince, adding that the Prussians had only a few light corps and petty detachments in the mountains. Generals Winterfeld and du Moulin left their posts near Landshut, and fell back to Schweidnitz, confirming everywhere the report put in circulation by the king. Prince Charles had the less doubt of its truth, as the retreat of the Prussians was precisely what he wished for.

On the 29th of May the king's army marched from Frankenstein to Reichenbach; on the 1st of June it arrived at Schweidnitz. Here it posted itself in a line ten miles long extending to Striegau. Frederick had chosen this ground for receiving the enemy when he should debouch from the mountains. This he did on the 2nd, when the Austrians and Saxons encamped at Bolkenhain. Their commanders, prince Charles and the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, repaired to the height near Hohenfriedberg, upon which the gallows now stands, to reconnoitre the country. They could perceive only a few small bodies of Prussians: the mass of the army, concealed by the Nonnenbusch near Striegau and behind numerous hills and earth-walls, escaped their observation. Certain that they should not meet with any enemy, they agreed that general Wallis should surprise Schweidnitz, carry off the great magazine there, and follow the Prussians

to Breslau; while the duke of Weissenfels was to occupy Striegau, and then turn off for Glogau.

They began on the following day to carry these plans into execution. With colours flying and music playing, the Austrians descended in eight columns into the plain, while the Saxons extended themselves beyond Striegau as far as Pilgramshain. These movements did not escape the notice of the king: in the following night he sent a detachment to occupy the Spitzberg near Striegau, and assigned positions to his troops with such silence and precaution, that even smoking was forbidden. So desirous were they all for battle, that during this night not one of them deserted—a most unusual circumstance in those times.

At two in the morning of the 4th of June, 1745, Frederick assembled his principal generals, and communicated to them the plan which he had formed for the battle. "Gentlemen," he added, "the cavalry, sword in hand, will impetuously charge the enemy; in the heat of the engagement; it will make no prisoners; it will aim all its blows at the face. It will overthrow and disperse the cavalry opposed to it, then turn back to the enemy's infantry, and take it either in flank or rear, as occasion may offer. The infantry will advance at quick step against the enemy, and charge him, if circumstances permit, with bayonet fixed; but if necessity obliges them to fire, it must not be done at a greater distance than 150 paces."

General du Moulin, on the right wing, first got

sight of the enemy. Two Saxon infantry battalions, destined to take Striegau, appeared on the heights opposite to him, and were not a little surprised to perceive Prussians before them. They halted to wait for the other divisions of the army. When these had come up, the cannon, planted on the Spitzberg, began to make havoc among them. The cavalry, which ventured to attack that of the Prussians, was repulsed, and fled in disorder. The two infantry battalions which had first shown themselves, were almost entirely cut in pieces by the Prussian garde du corps. The other divisions which successively arrived fared no better: in spite of the utmost resistance, the Prussians cut down all before them, or put the enemy to flight. Such was the prelude performed by merely a part of the Prussian right wing.

Meanwhile, prince Charles, who had his head-quarters at Hausdorf, hearing the reports of artillery and musketry, imagined that they proceeded from the Saxon advanced guard in its attempt to take Striegau. It was not long before he was undeceived: he made hasty dispositions, and directed his Austrians to advance. They posted themselves in the plain, between the water of Striegau and the wood of Rohnstock, but their opponents did not allow them time to form. The Prussian right wing and the centre of the first line fell upon the left wing of the Austrians, which gave way after a brave resistance. Here the king's guard particularly distinguished itself: for, when the Austrian grenadiers

sought twice to establish themselves upon ground intersected by numerous ditches, they both times dislodged them with the bayonet.

The Prussian right wing, which had hitherto been inactive, was now to fall upon the enemy's right, while the Prussian right was to attack him in flank and rear. To effect the latter manœuvre, the Prussian right wing had to make its way through the coppices and marshes of Rohnstock; and in doing this, an unlucky accident which befel the horse under the command of general Nassau, had well nigh snatched from the Prussians all the advantages they had won. In order to get at the enemy, general Kyau passed the bridge across the Striegau water; but it broke down after ten squadrons were over. These, indeed, made a furious attack on the Austrian cavalry, but would have been overwhelmed by the enemy, had not Zieten, who now took part for the first time in a regular battle, and commanded twenty squadrons of the reserve, hastened up with great presence of mind to their assistance. Thinking it not impossible that the bridge might break down, he had previously sought out a shallow place which was fordable; crossing there, he flew to the succour of general Kyau, and diverted from him the attack of the enemy's cavalry, till Nassau, crossing at the same ford with the rest of the Prussian horse, came up and put the Austrians to flight. When the king's right wing, debouching from the thickets and swamps, reached the spot, it found nothing to do. The dragoon regiment of Bayreuth, headed by

general Gessler, now dashed from the centre of the second line through the Prussian infantry, upon that of the Austrians already in disorder, charged seven of their best regiments, among which it made terrible slaughter, took 2500 prisoners, and captured for its share alone sixty-seven pair of colours and four pieces of cannon. Further resistance was out of the question. The Austrians fled through Kauder and Hohenfriedberg, where Wallis and Nadasdy covered the retreat towards the mountains: the Prussians, exhausted with the battle and their previous marches, could not pursue them. The Austrians and Saxons lost in the whole 9000 killed and wounded, upwards of 7000 prisoners, among whom were four generals and 200 other officers, seventy-six pair of colours, seven standards, eight pair of kettle-drums, and sixty pieces of cannon. The loss of the Prussians amounted in killed and wounded to 1800 men: lieutenant-general von Truchses was among the slain. On occasion of this victory, the king observed: "The world reposes not more safely on the shoulders of Atlas than Prussia upon such an army."

The king expressed his gratitude to the brave regiment of Bayreuth for the important service which it had rendered, in an address, written on the field of battle, commending the heroism displayed by it, and containing the names of all the officers who had shared its glory. He also gave the regiment a new seal, with the number sixty-seven, and a privilege of no mean importance in the eyes of

soldiers covetous of honour, the right to beat the grenadiers' and cuirassiers' march, the latter with kettle-drums. General Gessler, the commander of the regiment, was created a count. Frederick likewise gave a new coat of arms to his friend Chazot, who was a major in this regiment, in which he introduced a great many colours, the number sixty-seven, and the name of Hohenfriedberg. He wrote, moreover, with his own hand, to Chazot's mother, acquainting her with his gallant conduct, and accompanied his letter with a valuable snuff-box.

Among the Austrian officers taken prisoners in this engagement was general von Berlichingen. A hussar of Zieten's regiment brought him in. Instead of resigning himself to his fate, he vented his chagrin in execrations and abuse. The hussar listened to him for a long time without uttering a syllable. "And then," continued the general, "to be taken by such a rascally crew! by beggarly Prussian hussars, who took to their heels at Mollwitz the moment they saw our Hungarians!" The hussar was nettled. "Sir," said he, "hold your tongue this instant. Rave at your scurvy fate as long as you like, but devil fetch me if you shall say another word against our hussars." This rebuke only served to increase the general's choler, and he became more abusive than before. The Prussian lost all patience, and gave the general so violent a blow upon the head, that his hat and wig flew off, and he himself dropped from his horse. A captain in Zieten's regiment rode up, and began to repri-

mand the man for his conduct, but, on being informed of the cause, admitted that he was not to blame. The prisoner, when he had recovered himself, and mentioned his name, was conducted to the king, and complained bitterly of the treatment he had experienced. Frederick sent for the hussar. The man brought with him witnesses of the circumstance, and, without waiting to be accused, related the whole affair, concluding with the words: "And I tell your majesty beforehand, if any other man serves me so, I'll cut him in pieces." "You see," said the king, smiling, and turning to the general, "my hussar won't stand any jokes." Then addressing himself to the hussars "Be quite easy, my lads," said he, "you are brave fellows, and have done your duty, as I hope you always will."

Two of the king's brothers, Augustus William and Henry, bore a part in this engagement. The former led his brigade into the hottest fire, and when the marquis Valori, the French ambassador, who accompanied Frederick in his campaigns afterwards expressed admiration of his conduct, the king replied: "One cannot be better off than among such companions; but it is necessary to show that one is worthy of them." Prince Henry who was only eighteen, acted as aide-de-camp to the king.

Frederick's judicious plan, a fight of five hours, and the valour of the Prussians, produced a sudden change in the state of affairs, and Silesia was reconquered. While preparations were making for the battle, the chevalier de la Tour arrived with the

news that the French army had, in the presence of Louis XV., gained a victory at Fontenoy. When this envoy requested permission to remain for some time with the Prussian army, Frederick asked him if he wished to see who was to be master of Silesia. "No, Sire," replied the chevalier, "I only wish to see how your majesty chastises your foes, and defends your subjects." After the victory, the king dismissed him with this laconic letter to his master: "I have paid at Hohenfriedberg the bill which you drew upon me at Fontenoy." He afterwards wrote: "The battle of Fontenoy and the taking of Tournay are events glorious to you and advantageous to France; but a battle fought on the banks of the Scamander, or the capture of Pekin, would have been just as useful a diversion for Prussia." The cold and haughty tone in which Louis XV. replied was not calculated to remove the mistrust that Frederick had conceived of his sincerity.

After the battle of Hohenfriedberg, the Austrian commander retreated precipitately to Landshut. Frederick sent generals du Morlin, Zieten, and Winterfeld in pursuit of him. The Prussians came up with the rear-guard of general Nadasdy, and took from him some more men, horses, guns, and baggage. The Austrians continued their flight to Bohemia, and the king's army followed them, in order to afford some alleviation to his own country. At Wernersdorf two thousand peasants surrounded the king and begged his permission to put to death all the Catholics in those parts, in retaliation for

the oppressive and intolerant treatment which they had experienced. "My good fellows," replied Frederick, "do you not know what the Bible tells us: Love your enemies; bless those that curse you, do good to them that hate you; pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you?" The peasants admitted that he was right, and relinquished their sanguinary intentions.

Prince Charles entrenched himself as strongly as possible between Königingrätz and Pardubitz. Frederick encamped very near him at Chlumez. In this position both parties remained for three months; and the Austrians gave no other tokens of activity than in the attempts made by their freebooters, among whom colonel Trenck was particularly distinguished, to intercept the convoys coming to the Prussian army from Schweidnitz; which generally led to skirmishes. Frederick, on his part, felt no desire to hazard in any important enterprize the advantages which he had obtained. He had been obliged, moreover, to weaken his force, by sending 12,000 men to Upper Silesia, to expel the Hungarians and to recover Kosel. General Nassau, to whom he gave the command of this division, swept the Croats from the environs of Neisse, and on the 6th of September approached the fortress of Kosel so unexpectedly that the garrison knew nothing of his coming till they found themselves surrounded. The works were soon so much damaged by the artillery, that the Austrian commanders, convinced of their inability to hold out, offered to give up the place; provided they

might march away without molestation. "You have behaved like brave men," said Nassau to the officers sent to him with this proposal; "but I have already bespoken quarters for you at Breslau: so you must make up your minds at once to be prisoners of war." As there was no help for it, the garrison, consisting of 3000 Croats, submitted. This conquest cost the Prussians only 45 men. Nassau, leaving 1200 in the place, and supplying them with necessaries, marched to Moravia, where he gained many other advantages over the Hungarians.

Frederick had sent another division under general Gessler to join the old prince of Anhalt near Halle, in order to overawe the Saxons, who threatened Brandenburg. He had no wish to involve himself in hostilities with them, because he had reason to hope that he might yet induce them to withdraw from the alliance with Austria. Weary of the war, the king flattered himself that through the mediation of England he might dispose the court of Vienna to peace, and he was ready to vote in favour of Maria Theresa's consort at the approaching election of emperor. On the 26th of August, he concluded a treaty at Hanover with George II., by virtue of which England engaged to prevail upon the queen of Hungary to renew the treaty of Breslau, to secede for her own part from the alliance against Prussia, and to obtain for Frederick from all the other powers the guarantee of the possession of Silesia.

In these negociations, his Britannic majesty

overrated his influence with the Austrian court; for Maria Theresa refused to accede to the treaty of Hanover. She could dispense with the acknowledgment of her husband as emperor on the part of Prussia, because the majority of the electors had given him their votes, and Francis was actually elected on the 13th of September. This success rendered her so arrogant that she resolved to chastise "the rebellious vassal," as she called the king, and declared that "she would part with the gown from her back before she would give up Silesia." The court of Saxony proved equally obstinate. Augustus wished to make the royal dignity in Poland hereditary, for which purpose he needed the aid of Austria; and then the principalities of Sagan and Glogau, which had been promised him, would afford the means of keeping up a communication between Saxony and Poland. Frederick, therefore, had no other means of conquering peace but fresh victories. He had now only 18,000 men, with whom, as he could no longer keep his ground in Bohemia, he occupied, on the 19th of September, the insecure camp near Staudenz. Prince Charles, on the other hand, had increased his army, through reinforcements which the empress had sent him, to 40,000 men; and, urged by his court, he was determined to strike some decisive blow. A more seasonable moment, in fact, could not have been chosen. It was perceived that the Prussians designed to evacuate Bohemia and to retire to Silesia; the Austrian commanders, therefore, purposed to

fall unawares upon their rear, and, after overpowering that, to surround the rest of the army in its march through the defiles. The king sent general Katzler with 2000 horse to examine the roads and to obtain intelligence concerning the enemy, who was only a day's march distant. Katzler had not proceeded far when he found himself enclosed in a wood by two columns of Austrians; he was in time to hasten back, and the king was aware that, under all the circumstances, he must abandon his position. Accordingly, he issued the necessary orders for breaking up on the following morning.

On the 30th of September, the tents were just struck, when tidings were brought to the king from several quarters that the Austrians were approaching in complete order of battle. Frederick, though his force was not half so strong as that of the enemy, hesitated not a moment what to do; he knew that he could rely upon his troops, and was resolved to conquer or to die honourably. He, therefore, drew up his army, on account of the smallness of its number, in a single line, whereas the Austrians had three, under a shower of case-shot poured from batteries furnished with 28 pieces of cannon. No confusion, no discouragement, was manifested by his brave fellows. When the line was at length completed, Frederick ordered marshal Buddenbrock with the cavalry to commence the engagement. With twelve squadrons, that gallant officer charged fifty-five Austrian, and, seconded by favourable ground and the faulty

dispositions of the enemy's commanders, he drove them back. The infantry of the right wing, determined not to be outdone by the cavalry, conceived the design of storming the two batteries of the enemy; but, advancing too soon, and not being supported by the other divisions, it suffered severely and was obliged to fall back. Five fresh battalions having come to its aid, it renewed the attack, and the batteries were carried. The victorious Prussian infantry then charged that of the enemy in flank and drove it back on the right wing. The guard, posted in the centre, led by the king's brother-in-law, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, climbed a steep eminence overgrown with wood occupied by the Austrians, which was defended by his brother, prince Louis. Here then was exhibited the singular spectacle of brother fighting against brother, and the younger beating the elder. In vain the enemy attempted to establish himself on the numerous eminences which cover this part of the country; he was driven from them and at length fled in disorder. The Bornstedt cuirassier regiment alone took 1700 prisoners and ten pair of colours. The enemy was pursued no farther than Sorr, after which village this battle was named. The victors lost 2600 killed and wounded, and among the former prince Albert of Brunswick, major-general Blankensee, and lieutenant-colonel Wedell, whose heroism in disputing with the Austrians the passage of the Elbe had excited universal admiration; while the loss of the enemy amounted to 10,000 killed,

wounded, and prisoners, besides twenty-two pieces of cannon, twelve pair of colours and standards.

Among the Prussian officers who particularly distinguished themselves in this engagement was the celebrated Forcade. He received a wound in the right foot, which extended him on the field. The king declared that to him he chiefly owed the victory. When Forcade afterwards went on a court day to the palace in Berlin to thank the king in person for the honours conferred upon him, he was obliged by his wound to lean against the embrasure of a window, Frederick himself fetched him a chair, and insisted on his sitting down. "My dear colonel," said he, "so worthy and gallant an officer richly deserves to have a chair brought for him by the king."

The issue of this battle might have been different if the Austrian light troops under Nadasdy and Trenck had done their duty. They were ordered to attack the camp of the Prussians, and through it the rear of their army. Having soon gained possession of the camp, guarded only by a weak detachment under general Schlichting, they stopped to indulge their love of pillage, getting drunk, violating the women left in the camp, and committing the most horrible cruelties upon the sick. The whole field equipage of the king and the officers fell into their hands. When Frederick was informed that Trenck and his troops were plundering his baggage, he is said to have answered: "So much the better; then they will not disturb us." In

precisely the same spirit, Schlichting, when afterwards reproached with having been less vigilant in defence of the camp than he should have been, made this indignant reply: "How can one think of baggage, when there is a battle to be fought and honour to be won!" The freebooters left the king absolutely nothing but what he had about his person. There was not a morsel of bread for his supper, and Frederick was obliged to buy some ammunition bread of a soldier. Both pen and ink were gone, so that he was forced to use a pencil in writing as follows to his ministers at Breslau: "I have beaten the Austrians; I have made prisoners; let Te Deum be sung."—"I have lost every thing," he wrote to Duhan. "Be so good as to buy me a Boileau, the handsome octavo edition with notes, also Bossuet's Introduction to Universal History, Cicero's Tusculan Questions, &c. I dare say you will find them all in the library of my dear Jordan." To Fredersdorf he wrote: "Only think how we have fought, eighteen to fifty. My whole equipage is gone to the devil. Never in all my life have I been in such danger as on the 30th, and yet I got over it. Look you, no ball does me any harm."

Together with the king's baggage he lost a favourite greyhound called Biche, which became an Austrian prisoner and fell into the hands of general Nadasdy's lady, who could not for some time be prevailed upon to restore her to her master. The king was seated writing when Biche was brought

back. General Rothenburg, opening the room door so softly that the king was not aware of it, let in poor Biche, who at one leap was on his table and threw her fore-paws about his neck. His eyes filled with tears at this token of the animal's fondness.

The marquis de Valori was the successor in 1739 of La Chétardie, as French ambassador at the court of Berlin. Frederick, who had conceived a warm friendship for the latter, was a long time before he could reconcile himself to the change: but the excellent character of the marquis finally won his respect and confidence. "You are a worthy man," said the king to him familiarly one day, "and a man of superior understanding; but in the post of ambassador you are yet a novice. I will therefore give you a piece of advice: if you have anything to negociate, apply direct to me; my people will deceive, that is what I pay them for. I wish you well, and therefore desire that your court may have reason to be satisfied with you." This minister accompanied Frederick in his campaigns during the two wars of Silesia. Shortly before the battle of Sorr, in one of the encampments, the tent of the ambassador was placed at the extremity of the camp. The Austrians were informed of the circumstance by some deserters, and, before four in the morning, a detachment of Pandours came without noise and surrounded the tent, with the design of securing the marquis. D'Arget, his secretary happened to be up. Hastily slipping on

his excellency's handsome morning gown, he asked the hussars whom they wanted. "The French envoy," they replied: "I am the envoy," said the secretary. They seized him, threw him upon a horse, and galloped off, leaving the marquis to escape with his papers. On reaching the head-quarters of the enemy, the Austrian general asked the prisoner if he was M. de Valori, minister of France to the king of Prussia. "No, general," was the answer, "I am only his secretary."—"How durst you then declare that you were M. de Valori?"—"Because it was my duty. Can you who are acquainted with the laws of honour, blame me for it?"

The king was so pleased with the presence of mind and conduct of D'Arget on this occasion that he lost no time in getting him exchanged. When he came back, he wished to see him, and conceived so high an opinion of him that, with the consent of M. de Valori, he engaged him in his service, soon after the battle of Hohenfriedberg, as reader and literary secretary. Both were always well satisfied with one another. In the year 1749, when d'Arget was plunged into the deepest despondency by the loss of his wife, the king wrote thus to him: "You ought not to give way thus to grief. Reason must tell you that we are not immortal, and it is not worth while to afflict ourselves about the short time that we have to live. Events lie *above* us, and we act sinfully if, as philosophers, we murmur against the laws of Nature, as Christians,

against the decrees of Providence. Consider that Heaven has taken from you only a part of what it has given, and that you are unthankful, if you despise the many blessings which it still leaves you. You have a son, and it is your duty to attend to his education and welfare." D'Arget died in 1778.

Frederick had gained two important victories, and yet circumstances compelled him to fall back before the beaten enemy. This was chiefly owing to the weakness of his army and the want of provisions. For five days he remained on the field of battle, that his adversary might have no pretext to claim the victory, and then marched to Trautenau, where he continued till the 16th of October. When the last cask of flour and the last bundle of straw were consumed, the army commenced its retreat for Silesia, which it entered on the 19th. Du Moulin formed a line on the frontier; the rest of the army was cantoned between Schweidnitz and Striegau. Giving the chief command of it to Prince Leopold of Anhalt, the king went to Berlin, under the impression that the Austrians would soon go into winter-quarters, and was received in his capital with the greatest rejoicing.

CHAPTER XX.

Death of Jordan and Keyserling.—Brühl's Plan for the Invasion of the Prussian Dominions.—Threats of Russia.—The King rejoins the Army in Silesia.—Entrance of the Saxon and Austrian Armies into Lusatia.—Frederick marches to meet them.—Action at Katholisch-Hennersdorf.—Retreat of the Austrians to Bohemia.—The Prince of Anhalt enters Saxony, takes Leipzig, and marches to Dresden.—Flight of the King of Poland to Prague.—Battle of Kesselsdorf.—The Old Dessauer and his Son, Prince Maurice.—Frederick takes Dresden.—Peace concluded on the basis of the Hanoverian Convention.—Reception of the King in Berlin.—His last Interview with Duhan du Jandun.—He recruits his Army with the Prisoners of War.—Composition and Spirit of the Prussian Army in the Silesian Wars.—Pillage.—Desertion.—Officers.—Frederick's Efforts for their Improvement.—General Gessler.—Lieutenant-colonel Schütz; his cruelty. Punishment of Plunder.—Margrave Henry of Schwedt; his Cowardice.—Execution of Marauders.—Plunder of Lindenau.—State of the Austrian army.

THE king himself was still smarting under the loss of two of his dearest friends, Jordan and Keyserling. It is evident from his correspondence how deeply he was affected by it. "When I last wrote to you," he says in a letter to Madame de Camas, "my soul was serene and I foreboded not the misfortune that was to befall me. In the space of three months, I have lost two of my most faithful friends." On the 10th of September, he most earnestly recommends Keyserling's orphan daughter to the care of the same lady, and a fortnight later he writes to Duhan: "How unfortunate am I to have

lost nearly at the same time my good Jordan and my dear Keyserling! They were my family, and I now feel forlorn, and am plunged into a mourning of heart far more gloomy and sorrowful than a mourning in black clothes." When Duhan had sent him the books which he applied for after the battle of Sorr, Frederick wrote on the 24th of October: "I confess to you that I had tears in my eyes when I opened the books of my poor deceased Jordan. It is not without acute pain that I can think that this man whom I so fondly loved is no more. On this account, I almost dread being in Berlin again; and it will cost me much trouble to wean myself from those delights which Jordan's and Keyserling's society afforded me."

Jordan, a native of Berlin had been bred to the clerical profession, and was appointed minister of the French church at Prenzlow, but resigned the office out of grief for the death of his wife in 1732. In the following year he visited France, England, and Holland; and the narrative of this journey, which he published in the French language, introduced him to the notice of Frederick, then prince-royal, whose intimate friendship he acquired, and to whom, as we have seen, he acted as reader and secretary at Rheinsberg. His patron, on ascending the throne, appointed him curator of the academies, gave him the direction of the new Berlin police, afterwards made him a privy-councillor, and in 1744 vice-president of the Academy of Sciences. During the two Silesian wars, Jordan was the

person to whom he most frequently wrote, and to whom he communicated all he did and all he thought. It was Jordan too who procured and forwarded to the king any literary productions that he desired to have. Baron Pöllnitz, calling upon him one day, found on his table several pamphlets, full of such gross abuse of the king that he was frightened. "How dare you be so bold," said he "as to have in your possession such atrocious libels?" —"I shall not keep them long," replied Jordan; "I shall send them off to the king to-morrow."— "What! dare you send him such gross calumnies?" —"Why not! he knows that I am not the author of them; he knows that I do not approve them; he knows that in sending them, I only obey his orders." —"Ah, my friend, still it is to be feared that the ill humour which they must excite will fall upon you."—"I have no fear whatever of that; besides I only do my duty."

"Jordan," says Bielefeld, "was no first-rate but he possessed a good understanding, a pleasant vein of humour, erudition, and an excellent heart. A fondness for all moral beauty was his passion. After his wife's death, his library was the object of his dearest affection. He spoke admirably, but was only a middling writer. His extreme vivacity would not allow him time to think maturely of the subject which he was discussing, or to choose his expressions, still less to revise and correct what he had written. His style was too concise to be pleasing: by aiming to be laconic he was dry. To

his sovereign he was attached with a fervour that bordered on idolatry—in short, he was an excellent servant, a faithful friend, an affectionate father, and a useful citizen."

The king wrote a cantata on the death of his friend, and sent it to Berlin to be composed by Graun. On his return from the army this cantata was performed in the chapel: when it was finished, he put an end to the music and retired in tears.

Keyserling, who had entered into the military service of Prussia in 1724 and was appointed one of the companions of Frederick when prince-royal, soon gained his entire confidence. During his residence at Rheinsberg, he selected Keyserling as his envoy to Voltaire to solicit from him a copy of his works, unpublished as well as published, for that seat of the Muses. Keyserling united the most opposite qualities: sometimes all turbulence and impetuosity, at others all gentleness and sensibility, he was either full of frolic and hilarity, or grave and reserved, but in all humours equally amiable. His wit was inexhaustible and his mind stored with the most various knowledge. He married a countess Schlieffen, by whom he left a daughter only a year old at the time of his death. The king intended to have trained him for a general, but Keyserling had attained no higher rank than that of colonel.

Frederick's wish was to bring about a peace if possible by fresh negociations; but, while thus occupied, a plan devised by Brühl, the Saxon minister, and favourably received by the Austrian

court, for effecting the ruin of Prussia in the middle of that same winter, was communicated to him. Its object was nothing less than to penetrate through Saxony into his dominions, to wrest Silesia from him, and to reduce him again to margrave of Brandenburg. The main army under prince Charles was to march through Lusatia direct to Berlin; another corps of 10,000 men, under the command of general Grüne, detached from the Austrian army on the Rhine, was to join the Saxons near Leipzig, to surprise the Prussians near Halle, and likewise to push forward to Berlin. It was then the intention to force the king to restore Silesia to Austria, and to cede the duchy of Magdeburg, with Kottbus and Peitz, to Saxony. Luckily, Brühl was so proud of his plan that he could not keep it to himself; he mentioned it to the Swedish ambassador in Dresden, who, an admirer of Frederick's, instantly communicated it to Rudenskiold the ambassador of his court in Berlin, by whom the king was made acquainted with it on the same day that the colours and standards recently taken were solemnly placed in the garrison-church of his capital. The danger was urgent, and it required a resolute spirit, like Frederick's, to meet it with coolness. He immediately consulted with his ministers and generals, but none of them would give credit to the story, conceiving that Brühl was not capable of so bold an idea. The most incredulous of all was the old prince of Anhalt, who thought it utterly impossible that any such scheme could be entertained by the

Austrians. Frederick was obliged to exert all his authority to carry his point and to prevail on the old Dessauer to hasten to Halle, and to put the corps there into marching order.

All Frederick's energies were roused: he must either conquer or perish. Though Elisabeth of Russia interfered, and warned the king against any incursion into Saxony, otherwise she should be obliged by the defensive alliance subsisting between her and the king of Poland to hasten to his assistance, his resolution remained unchanged; for, according to his calculation, in the worst event, it would be six months before anything was to be feared from a Russian army. He directed this answer to be returned to the empress,—that it was his wish to live in peace with all his neighbours; but if any one hatched ruinous plans against his dominions, no power in Europe should prevent him from defending himself and chastising his enemies.

On the 14th of November Frederick set out for Silesia. At his departure he tenderly embraced the Swedish ambassador, who had rendered him so signal a service in communicating the designs of the enemy. "Farewell," said he, "my dear Rudenskiold; interest yourself for me; I shall ever interest myself for you." After the peace, the ambassador congratulated his majesty, and Frederick sent him a snuff-box and a service of Meissen porcelain, which had formed part of the booty. "Accept this," he wrote, "as a token that I thought of you in Saxony." When this ambassador, commonly called

le ministre favori, was replaced in 1748, the king found it very difficult to part from him.

Mistrusting the activity of the old Dessauer, the king ordered general Haack, with a corps of 5000 men, to cover Berlin; and to this end to go and meet the enemy, and to fight him. Five hundred carts and waggons were in readiness, in case of emergency, to remove the king's coffers and the archives to Stettin.

Arriving at Liegnitz on the 15th, the king was apprized by letters from Winterfeld, who was observing the frontiers of Lusatia, that 6000 Saxons had entered Upper Lusatia by way of Zittau, and that the main army under prince Charles would speedily follow. Frederick assembled all the disposable troops, summoned general Nassau from Upper Silesia to Landshut to cover the frontier there, and occupied all the passes to prevent any tidings but such as he pleased from reaching the Austrians in Bohemia. In this manner he contrived to deceive prince Charles a second time. He affected, out of concern for the fate of the capital, to have no thoughts whatever of an incursion into Saxony, and pretended that his only object was to get to Berlin by way of Crossen, before Charles could arrive there through Lusatia. To give a colouring of truth to this insinuation, he caused some of Winterfeld's hussars, who had committed excesses in Lusatia, to be severely punished, the roads about Crossen to be repaired, and magazines to be established in that direction. The

Bober, the Queis, and the Neisse were occupied: any person going from Lusatia was allowed to cross these rivers to Silesia, but not a creature to go from Silesia to Saxony. Thus prince Charles, on his march through Lusatia, anticipated no molestation, and expected at most to fall in with Winterfeld's corps of observation, consisting of 3000 men.

On the 23rd of November, Frederick, favoured by a thick fog, very quietly crossed the Queis near Naumburg, and pushed on for Görlitz, to which the Austrians had already advanced. At Katholisch-Hennersdorf, he fell in with some bodies of the enemy: to ascertain precisely where he was, the king sent forward a regiment of hussars before each of his four columns, the divisions of which were mutually to support each other. The two outer columns, on the right and left, consisted of cavalry, the two inner of infantry. The first column of infantry was led by the king himself, and preceded by Zieten with his hussars. The march was attended with many difficulties, the troops having got, through a blunder of the guide's, into a deep morass. Zieten arrived first at a by-road near Hennersdorf, and learned that this large village, extending a full (German) mile, was occupied by three regiments of the enemy's cavalry and one of infantry. As the king was far in the rear, Zieten was in no small perplexity: he could do no other than fall upon the enemy, who were still in their quarters, singly and unexpectedly, and send the king instant tidings of his dangerous situation.

Zieten, in prosecution of his enterprise, dashed with four squadrons into the centre of the village, and sent the other six squadrons to its two ends. A few unseasonable shots had meanwhile given an alarm to the enemy; and Zieten's division was received with a fire of artillery and musketry by the Saxe-Gotha regiment of infantry. Undaunted by this resistance, Zieten and his brave fellows laid about them with such fury and success, that nearly the whole regiment was cut in pieces: the prince alone escaped with fifty men, leaving behind cannon, colours, and baggage. Meanwhile the other six squadrons were not idle: successive reinforcements arrived from the king's division; the village was surrounded on all sides, and the enemy's troops were destroyed or taken. Among the prisoners were general Dallwitz, colonel O'Byrn, and thirty other officers. In memory of this day, the regiments of generals Zieten and Runsch were presented with silver kettle-drums, which they had taken from the enemy.

The affair of Hennersdorf was in reality of little importance, but it struck great terror into the Austrian army. While Frederick entered Görlitz on the 25th of November, and recruited his soldiers out of the enemy's magazines which he found there, prince Charles entirely gave up his plan of surprising Berlin, and retreated in disorder to Bohemia. Winterfeld came up with his rear-guard near Zittau, and took some prisoners and baggage. At Guben, the Prussians made themselves masters of an Austrian magazine, and carried it off to Bautzen. The

old prince of Anhalt was ordered to enter the electorate with his army assembled near Halle, and to attack the Saxons near Dresden. Winterfeld drove general Hohenems out of Silesia, and entirely cleared that province of the Austrians; general Lehwald was sent to the Elbe to threaten Dresden and to support the prince of Anhalt, and the king himself intended to follow him after he had allowed his army a brief repose.

The old Dessauer did not execute his commission with that despatch which the king had enjoined. It was not till the end of November that he moved from Halle with his 25,000 men; on the 29th he appeared before Leipzig, and took that city, which the Saxon troops had quitted, by capitulation. Frederick now sent him orders to march with greater expedition through Torgau to Meissen, and there to form a junction with Lehwald's corps. This junction was effected on the 13th of December, as the enemy had neglected to destroy the bridge across the Elbe; and Leopold then marched upon the Saxon capital. On the 15th, the king himself arrived at Meissen, and occupied both banks of the Elbe.

Though things wore so favourable an aspect for Frederick, he still adhered to the principle of moderation, and had recently offered peace to the court of Dresden on the conditions of the Hanoverian convention. For these negociations he had recourse to Mr. Villiers, the English ambassador in Dresden. The proposals of the latter were

haughtily rejected. Now, however, when Frederick's armies threatened the capital, a different disposition was manifested. General Grüne, who had actually set out for Berlin, was hastily recalled; and the commander-in-chief, count Rutowski, was ordered to cover Dresden. Augustus himself had fled to Prague with such precipitation, as to leave behind him the youngest princes. It was owing to these circumstances that Frederick, as soon as he entered Meissen, received intelligence from Villiers that the king of Poland was ready to make peace, and that Maria Theresa also would accede to the convention of Hanover, provided that some alterations were made in it in her favour. This letter, had it arrived a few days earlier, would have saved the lives of thousands of warriors: as it was, the king had scarcely read it before the guns were thundering at Kesselsdorf.

On the 13th of December, prince Charles arrived with the principal Austrian army in the environs of Dresden; but, in compliance with the arrangements of the Saxon authorities, his troops were so widely dispersed, that it took twenty-four hours to concentrate them. Besides, he found count Rutowski indisposed to co-operate with him. He conceived that he had no need of the assistance of the Austrians, deeming his position so secure that the Prussians would not venture to attack him. He consented, when too late, to a junction with prince Charles. On the 14th, the prince inspected the Saxon army, and the enemy's commanders

agreed to fall upon the old prince of Anhalt. The latter did not wait for them: shaking off his inactivity, he anticipated their attack.

The Saxon army occupied a situation which presented great difficulties to an assailant. The camp extended from Kesselsdorf, for seven or eight miles, nearly to the Elbe; the left wing was supported on the village of Kesselsdorf, about four miles from Dresden. On the right, the ground, at first level, declined more and more, and at last so rapidly that it was impassable for troops. Upon a hill on the right of the entrance of Kesselsdorf were planted six pieces of cannon, and here was placed the first line of the Saxons, consisting entirely of infantry. In the village itself were posted the grenadiers and the Rutowski regiment: the principal entrance to it was defended by a battery of twenty-four guns. The Saxon right wing terminated at Pennerich near the Elbe, where general Grüne's corps of 6000 men joined—a post almost inaccessible from rocks and precipices.

It was about two in the afternoon, when the prince of Anhalt commenced the attack. Advancing from Wildruf, he soon perceived that the victory depended on the capture of the village of Kesselsdorf: he placed the infantry destined for the purpose in three lines, and supported them by a regiment of dragoons in the fourth. His own regiment, with three grenadier battalions, attacked the village in front, while Lehwald operated on the flank. This first attack failed: the fire from the

battery of 24 guns, and the small arms of the Saxons posted in the village made such havoc among the Prussians that they were forced to retire. A second assault having been foiled in like manner, any further attempt appeared hopeless. At this moment, a Saxon general inconsiderately ordered his men to advance and to pursue the Prussians. They obeyed. The Saxons thereby destroyed the effect of their own batteries, and Leopold instantly took advantage of this error. The dragoon regiment of the fourth line rushed upon the advancing Saxons, and cut them in pieces or took them prisoners: the infantry penetrated into the village, made themselves masters of the battery by which they had suffered so severely, and forced the Saxons who defended the place to lay down their arms; while the cavalry broke the enemy's left wing, dispersed his cavalry, and put the whole to flight. Prince Leopold's youngest son Maurice, who commanded the left wing of the Prussians, and till the capture of the village had merely cannonaded, no longer content with this occupation, advanced against the enemy's right wing, overcame all the difficulties of the ground, and led nine battalions through the half-frozen water of the ditch. They clambered up rocks and precipices, and with bayonets fixed, drove the enemy from the heights near Pennerich. The Prussian cavalry of the right wing, separated from the enemy by precipices, pursued the fugitives. Thus, after a conflict of two hours, the Prussians

were victorious. The Saxons, including Grüne's corps were 26,000 strong; the Prussians numbered about a thousand more. The victors had 4000 killed or wounded; of the Saxons 3000 were left dead on the field; 6500 were taken prisoners, among whom were 200 officers, and they lost 48 pieces of cannon, five pair of colours, and three standards. It is a remarkable circumstance that the two main armies, both the Prussian and prince Charles's, were inactive spectators of this battle. The king himself was at Meissen.

This victory cost the Prussians several distinguished officers, who either fell during the engagement or died of their wounds. The old Dessauer had his coat perforated in three places by balls; his valiant son, Maurice, had three horses killed under him, and a ball carried away the right skirt of his coat, but neither of them was wounded. By this glorious achievement, Leopold crowned a professional career of fifty years. An eye-witness, Carstedt, chaplain of the regiment of Kalckstein, in an unpublished narrative of the events of this time, says, when he comes to the battle of Kesselsdorf: "Though the old Dessauer was accustomed, often for a mere trifle in exercising the troops, to pour forth a deluge of curses, this affair wore too serious a look. He gave his orders and advanced with the words: 'Now, my lads, in the name of God!'" It is also related of him that just before the battle, he pronounced this prayer: "O God, graciously

assist me this day, or if thou wilt not, at any rate do not help the rascally enemy, but look on, happen what will!"

Numberless anecdotes of this eccentric prince are still current among the people. A soldier from boyhood and in the service of Brandenburg ever since 1695, he was thoroughly brave, rough in manners, irritable, and violent, like his royal friend, Frederick William. Though a rigid disciplinarian, his condescension and familiarity rendered him both in garrison and in camp the idol of the grenadiers, with whom he shared their brown bread, and who learned of him to curse and swear. Conceiving, while a youth, a violent passion for the daughter of an apothecary of Dessau, he married her after attaining his majority, and the children by this union were elevated by the emperor to the rank of princes of the empire and declared legitimate. His consort alone had any influence over his obstinate disposition, which frequently caused him to act as arbitrarily and tyrannically in his limited circle as Frederick William did in his dominions. This disposition was most strikingly displayed in the compulsory means which he employed to accumulate in his own hands the whole landed property of his country, and in acts of despotism and oppression, which drove away the nobility and gentry, utterly ruined many families, and degraded his principality to a province of Brandenburg.

Brought up with the soldiery, rude in manners and coarse in language, Leopold's life was divided

between the parade, war, and the chase; but his ambition, as well as his early connexion with the house of Austria, involved him in various intrigues, rendered him imperious, and subtracted from his usefulness, more especially at the court of the last of the three sovereigns of Brandenburg to whom he devoted his services. Over a prince possessing Frederick's abilities it was not possible for Leopold to maintain that influence which he had exercised over his father; and on some occasions the sarcastic monarch even made him his butt. As a permanent memorial of the victory of Kesselsdorf, to which Leopold was fond of reverting, Frederick presented him with a minute plan of the battle, admirably drawn and magnificently decorated: but the shield with the title inscribed upon it, in one corner, was borne by an old tom-cat with prodigious moustaches, such as the prince was accustomed to wear.

Long after his death in 1747, the influence which Leopold had exercised for half a century was perceptible. He continued to live in his sons, Leopold, Dietrich, and Maurice, in the children of his eldest son William Gustavus, who died in 1737 —the counts of Anhalt—and in generals Fouqué, Winterfeld, and Golz. They formed a party at court and in the army not surpassed by any other in chivalrous feeling, valour, and military experience, but which found sturdy opponents in marshal count Schwerin, and subsequently in the princes of the blood and of the house of Brunswick, and in generals Zieten, Retzow, and Forcade. Nothing

but Frederick's superior genius could have directed energies rent by jealousy, discord, and hateful feuds to one common end, or employed them separately for the benefit of the state. The late king of Prussia erected in Berlin a marble statue of prince Leopold executed by Schadow, which was removed in 1828 from the pleasure-garden to the Wilhelmsplatz.

Prince Maurice, one of the most distinguished of the heroes of Kesselsdorf, was the favourite and the very type of the old prince. He did not, indeed, like his father, sing all the church hymns to the tune of the Dessau march, and he was more polished in society: but, brought up among soldiers, blunt, brave, and sincere, he could neither read nor write—a circumstance which seems at that time to have abated little from his usefulness as a general and his dignity as a prince.

On the 16th of December, the day after the victory of Kesselsdorf, Frederick with his army joined that of the prince of Anhalt, and inspected the field of battle. The prince had made amends in the eyes of the king for all the faults of his previous tardiness, and received the most flattering commendations for the intelligence and valour which had produced such a brilliant result. Prince Charles, who had meanwhile collected his scattered troops, wished the Saxons to try the fortune of another attack; but Rutowski, who had fled with the relics of his beaten army to Dresden, was not to be persuaded to follow his advice; nay, he even evacuated

the Saxon capital, leaving there only 4000 militia, and sought safety in a retreat to Bohemia, whither he was followed by prince Charles.

Frederick now ordered Dresden to be summoned. It would have been the more impracticable to defend the city, as count Brühl had demolished part of the fortifications, in order to enlarge the gardens of his mansion situated near the Elbe. General Bosc, the governor, declared at once that he could do no other than yield, "for it was impossible to defend pleasure-grounds." The ministers therefore sent the king a capitulation; but when this was rejected, they opened the gates unconditionally. On the 18th of December, Frederick entered the city with four regiments, made prisoners of the militia, 415 officers, and 1500 wounded soldiers. That part of the royal family which had been left behind, the ministers, and the chief administrative authorities were in the king's power. The strictest discipline was maintained, so that the presence of foreign soldiers was scarcely perceptible. Frederick himself won all hearts by his kindness and humanity. "He went to see the king's children, cheered and comforted them, and left them the palace-guard and every honorary distinction." He declared to the Saxon ministers that he had no intention to avail himself of the means which Fortune had put into his hands, to revenge the perfidy and intrigues of Brühl; but that, on the contrary, he offered his friendship for the last time to the king of Poland. In fact, the terms of the treaty which he submitted

to them through the English ambassador, deviated in no respect from those of the Hanoverian convention.

King Augustus, despoiled of country, revenues, and troops, was aware that he had no longer any choice; and Maria Theresa likewise perceived that pride is not always a useful coadjutor. She despatched count Harrach, chancellor of Bohemia, to Dresden, with the requisite full powers; and the negociation was brought the more speedily to a close, because the king of Prussia himself had exhausted his resources, and had reason to apprehend the interference of the Russian arms. On the 25th of December, ten days after the battle of Kesselsdorf, the treaty was signed: Austria renounced for the second time all claim to Silesia, and Frederick recognized Francis I. as emperor. Augustus engaged never again to allow an enemy of Prussia a passage through his dominions and to uphold the Protestant religion, and he paid a million dollars as arrears of military contributions.

On the day after the conclusion of peace, Frederick caused Te Deum to be sung in the church of the Holy Cross at Dresden, and the guns on the ramparts to be fired. While in that capital, he gave balls and concerts, had operas performed, and amused the people with other dramatic entertainments. He caused them to be supplied also with bread, and thus acquired not less popularity in the Saxon capital than he had gained at Breslau on the first capture of that city. On the 27th of

December, he left it to return to Berlin, with the testimony that, towards both the country and its sovereign, he had behaved more like a friend than a foe.

Great as had before been the alarm in the Prussian capital, the greater and more general was the joy prevailing there when successive couriers brought tidings of victories won, of peace concluded, and at length, on the 28th of December, the king himself arrived. That day was ushered in by the ringing of all the bells. About noon the city-companies, to the number of 16,000, organised by the commandant for the defence of the capital, assembled, with bands playing and colours flying, before the houses of their officers, and then marched to the posts allotted to them, and formed a double file from the city-gate to the grand entrance of the palace. The officers wore a blue uniform, and the privates their best clothes. Before the palace was stationed a company of young tradesmen. Their colours were white, with a burning heart, and the inscription: *Sic ardet pro rege.* The streets were thronged by the lower classes, and the higher filled all the houses in the line through which the king was to pass. Every window was occupied, and the very tiles were taken from the roofs, which were crowded with spectators. Great numbers went on horseback eight or ten miles to meet the king and to escort him to his palace. He received them most graciously. Frederick was seated in an open carriage, with his brothers William and Henry.

Owing to the immense concourse of people, he could proceed only at a foot-pace, but this served to render his entry the more solemn. The director of the posting department, with a hundred postillions dressed in blue and orange, blowing horns, headed the procession: these were followed by the butchers on horseback. These citizens wore brown clothes and gold-laced hats, had blue colours, and formed a squadron, which was joined by all the officers of the king's hunting establishments and gamekeepers in the neighbouring districts. Next came a detachment of the royal jäger regiment, and then a squadron of volunteers, composed of the principal citizens of Berlin, in dark blue uniform and superbly mounted. These surrounded the king's carriage. The pages of the king and princes followed on horseback, and a division of the guard closed the cavalcade, to say nothing of a long train of carriages which had gone to meet his majesty. The city guards, as the king rode between the files, presented arms, the officers saluted with the halberts and the colours, the trumpets flourished, and the people shouted for the first time, "Long live Frederick THE GREAT!" Females strewed the road with flowers, and laurel wreaths were thrown from the windows into the carriage of the king. "Never," says Bielefeld, "did I witness a more touching scene. The pomp of courts, the festivities which take place at the command of a sovereign, may frequently deceive; but here all was spontaneous, all the result of admiration and attachment. The king

was grave and agitated; a feeling of his dignity, but also happiness in being the ruler of such a people, was legible in his countenance. He bowed right and left, and called out several times to the thrusting and struggling crowd: 'Don't hurt one another, my children!'—'Take care of the horses!' —At the same time conversing with those who were nearest to him, and by his affability crowning the general joy."

On alighting at the palace, Frederick was received by his brother Ferdinand, the other princely personages, the generals of the army and the most distinguished people of his court. He then proceeded to the royal apartments up stairs, where the meeting with the two queens was most tender and affectionate. But the king soon withdrew from the congratulations of courtiers, the endearments of relatives, and the plaudits of the rejoicing people, to pay a last tribute to friendship. Informed that his old preceptor, Duhan du Jandun, was at the point of death, he went that same evening to see him once more. "My dear Duhan," said he, as he approached his bed, "I cannot tell you how it grieves me to find you in this state. Would to God that I could contribute in any way to your relief and recovery! You should then see what sacrifices my gratitude would cheerfully make for you." Duhan was already very weak. "To see your majesty once more," said he, "is the greatest consolation that I could have. Now, I shall die easier; for it is all over with me!" At these words

he made a movement as if to take hold of the king's hand and kiss it. Frederick would not permit him, and quitted the room with the painful exclamation: "No, I cannot bear it any longer!" The death of his friend embittered his joy on account of the peace, and he honoured his memory in an Eloge which was read before the Academy of Sciences in Berlin.

"Thus terminated," says Frederick, "the second war, which had lasted sixteen months and been carried on with great exasperation on both sides. The Saxons had manifested in it all their hatred against Prussia, and their jealousy of the aggrandizement of this neighbouring power. The Austrians fought for the empire and to maintain their influence over its affairs, fearing lest Prussia might gain too great an ascendency; and Prussia, exposed to the worst dangers, at length conquered solely through the order and the heroic courage of her troops. This war occasioned none of those great revolutions which change the destiny of states; but it prevented the occurrence of such revolutions by obliging the prince of Lorraine to leave Alsace. The death of Charles VII., was a circumstance that could not be foreseen. It deranged the plan for wresting the imperial dignity for ever from the new house of Austria. If then things are estimated according to their real value, this war caused in some measure a useless effusion of blood, and the successive victories served only to secure to Prussia the possession of Silesia.

"If we consider this war merely in regard to the increase or decrease of the resources of the belligerent powers, it cost Prussia eight millions of dollars, besides the blood spilt in battle, and Upper and Lower Silesia suffered considerably; but, on the one hand, these losses were such as a provident administration soon retrieves, and, on the other, those of the Austrians and Saxons were beyond comparison more severe. Bohemia and Saxony suffered in like manner from the presence of the great armies; the finances of the queen of Hungary were utterly deranged, notwithstanding the English subsidies; her loss in men was much greater than that of Prussia; and the war cost the king of Poland more than five millions of dollars. Brühl certainly understood the art of ruining his master methodically."

Setting aside the assured possession of Silesia, Frederick seems to consider that it was productive of no other advantage than that of rendering the Prussian power more formidable and establishing his personal reputation as a soldier. In order to maintain the high position which his wars had acquired him, the king strengthened his army, agreeably to the maxim which he had adopted that the best way to preserve peace is to be always prepared for war. With the surplus of the 45,000 Saxon and Austrian prisoners of war and the addition of 7000 of his own subjects, he filled the gaps made in his regiments by the bloody battles of the late war; as though men who had been fighting for their

country would fight just as bravely against it when placed in its enemy's ranks.

The reader will ask with astonishment how it was possible that, with such troops as he commanded, troops partly composed of the scum of human society, Frederick could achieve such signal successes; and he will be surprised to find in the Prussian army not only the most heroic valour, but in certain portions of that army an ardent patriotism, and in others a spirit of mutual attachment, which must have been infused by something into the heterogeneous medley. This something was, we may assume, the extraordinary genius of Frederick. He first animated those slavish will-less masses, instilled into them the requisite self-assurance, and unbounded confidence in his superior energies and resources.

True it is that, ever since the time of Frederick William I., the Prussian army surpassed all other European troops in military exercises, in the art of manœuvring, and in strictness of discipline. At first too, it had only armies similarly composed to contend with: but the history of all wars teaches us that with such means nothing extraordinary was ever accomplished; and that, no general ever led his troops to certain victory, unless they were fired by some sentiment or other—love of country or of liberty, revenge, hatred, or religion. We should look in vain for any of these moral levers in Frederick's armies at this time. The rude common soldier regarded the bloody game of war as the means

of gratifying his passions with impunity. He fought not for wife and family, for the safety of the country, for the protection of the altars; his blood was not spilt to break the chains of tyranny, to maintain the hereditary rights of princes, to drive out foreign oppressors; he enquired not whither his general was leading him, for what object he was risking his life: he asked only for his pay, good cheer, and comfortable quarters; he sought only plunder, and seized without scruple whatever he found in an enemy's country. And it was not to free-born denizens that the defence and protection of states were in those days committed, but to greedy foreign hirelings, and mercenary adventurers.

At the time of the Silesian wars, the Prussian army, with the exception of the officers, who were selected exclusively from the nobles of the country, consisted chiefly of runaways and deserters. Such of the subjects of the king as could not escape enrolment among the military were soon infected with the rude and savage spirit of their comrades. In taking the field, they thought not of the battle which puts the usefulness of troops to the test, but only rejoiced in the prospect of the licentiousness of active service, of the full flesh-pots of the citizens and peasants, and of the money which they should make by plunder. The tents and the guard-rooms rang with coarse and obscene songs; cards and dice allured those eager after gain to a drum-head; and bacchanalian orgies drowned all thoughts of the near approach of death. They marched, and

felt released from those shackles of discipline which had reduced the gigantic grenadier to a mere puppet. They entered the enemy's country, came to a village, a farm-house, a cottage; and then all hands were ready to rob the unfortunate peasants of their last morsel of bread. One jealously watched the other; sentinels were stationed and posts doubled to prevent desertion. At the commencement of the first Silesian war, officers durst not venture to occupy woods and thickets, because few of the men came back out of them to rejoin their leaders. What disgusting brutality is exhibited in the following fact related by Carstedt! "At ten o'clock on the 16th of May, two deserters from the grenadier regiment of Bredow, a Protestant and a Catholic, were obliged to throw dice to decide which of them should be hanged. The Protestant had deserted twice before. The Catholic was an Austrian deserter, and had endeavoured to seduce another soldier to desert. The latter betrayed the design, and before they could get away, they were detained by the post, which had kept an eye upon them. The Protestant was a daring dissolute fellow. After the other had thrown in deep dejection, he picked up the dice saying: 'If it was for a can of beer, I should be sure to lose, for I am always unlucky at dice. But, as it is only for this trumpery life, depend upon it, I shall win.' He threw and won. The Catholic was hanged, and the other had to run the gauntlet."

The same eye-witness relates what follows.

"On the 27th of May 1741, the plundering in the neighbouring villages was far worse than on the preceding evening. The right wing extended to Grottkau, which, with the other villages in the vicinity, was plundered of everything. The marauders took all they could find: horses, carts, oxen, cows, calves, sheep, hogs, fowls, geese, ducks, corn, bread, beer, money, beds, clothes, linen, tables, benches, stools, in short whatever they could lay their hands on. The church was forcibly broken open and completely stripped. An officer took away the communion cup from a soldier, who had made prize of it. The boards they used in the camp for flooring the tents, and the stools to sit upon. Our own horses were not safe from these marauders; for, when some of the officers sent their horses, on account of the bad weather, to be put into the barns in the nearest villages, they lost several of them. The plunderers took them and sold them for what they could get. Nobody could put a stop to this evil. The men were quite mad. When the king rode through the village of Grottkau, he found some soldiers strolling about after plunder. He ordered them to be arrested and to run the gauntlet. The marauding ceased, but only because there was nothing, absolutely nothing, more to take away. The bare walls alone of the buildings were still standing; in most of the houses, the stoves and the windows had been wantonly destroyed by the last comers: for when they can find no more to steal, they are accustomed to break everything in pieces.

Such is the scene presented by a village which is completely plundered; and when I make use of this expression in future, it must be understood to include everything enumerated above. Though pillage was forbidden upon penalty of hanging, it was nevertheless continued. But as every company, nay every regiment, strove to palliate the offence of its marauder caught in the fact and to save him from the gallows, and moreover the detachments frequently had orders to clear off everything, it was impossible in marching and foraging to prevent plunder."

To check desertion and to sharpen the vigilance of the officers, the following order was issued: "The captains must frequently call over their companies. When a desertion takes place through the negligence of the captain and commander of the company, ten dollars shall be deducted from his pay."

Such were the soldiers whom Frederick led to battle! And what were the officers who commanded these troops? It is not to be denied that an heroic spirit animated most of them, nay that many, grown gray in the service, were men of highly cultivated minds. But, in an army which learned to swear from prince Moustache, at a time when coarseness and blustering passed for valour, when the cane and the sword were in constant requisition, when solid scholastic instruction rarely preceded the entrance of youth into the military profession—in such an army the majority of the officers could not be men of education: and honourable, high-spirited, brave,

patriotic, and loyal as those immediately about Frederick's person might be, he had first to train them under his own eye, before they were qualified for useful leaders. That period, and the profession of which we are treating in particular, affected a rough exterior: people were fond of coarse oaths and strong expressions, which at the present day would but excite contempt. Not an ensign swore by fewer than a thousand devils; and we know from ear-witnesses that the language of Frederick himself, when he spoke German, was not always the most decorous and select. Classic in this respect is his incitement to valour: "Blackguards do you want to live for ever?"—which at the time is said to have produced as powerful an effect as Napoleon's allusion to the antiquity of the pyramids. We can cheerfully forgive the age this mode of expression; but the gross and vulgar acts, by which officers frequently disgraced themselves and of which they boasted, are proofs of a low way of thinking; and Frederick had long to pick and to sift, before he created a corps of officers, worthy of the name and the privileges with which he distinguished it. Hence he broke without mercy the tormentors and oppressors of the Silesians, punished and poured forth his indignation even upon high officers, and strove with indefatigable perseverance to improve the spirit of his army.

Carstedt, who furnishes the evidence on which this picture is founded, has preserved many curious facts that are worth transcribing. Thus he relates concerning the battle of Hohenfriedberg: "General

von Gessler acquired the greatest glory in this battle, against the will of the king. He had fallen into disgrace. This was no wonder, for he was unjust and oppressed the citizens wherever he lay with his regiment, that he might gain something to supply his profusion. The king hates all excesses in his officers; and he punishes them in a way that is severely felt according to their character. Gessler, an ambitious man, was intended to be a mere spectator in this battle; and, as the king was not best satisfied with the Bayreuth dragoons, he placed them separately under Gessler's command in the second line. Both general and dragoons distinguished themselves far beyond any other corps of Prussian cavalry; they attacked the best Austrian regiments with such fury as to put them to the rout, take many colours and prisoners and decide the battle. The king, seeing Gessler, come up with the colours and prisoners, called out to him: 'All forgotten! all forgiven! Your conduct to-day deserves that I should forget the past, and receive you again into my highest favour.'"

Of lieutenant-colonel Schütz, a successful Prussian partisan, Carstedt relates facts which are almost incredible, but which strikingly illustrate the way of acting of the officers. "At this time lieutenant-colonel Schütz particularly distinguished himself. He was the first who ventured to throw himself in the rear of the enemy's army, and who intercepted their convoys as they had hitherto done ours. When he went on such an expedition,

he seldom took with him more than three hundred men, and these he picked out of all the hussar regiments. Not a man of his party durst get drunk; and if he happened to find one intoxicated, he had him flogged when sober. On the other hand, his people were sure of booty. The usual share of each hussar when he returned was one hundred ducats. The whole army of the enemy was harassed by him. In person he was tall and spare, a native of Silesia or Saxony, I know not exactly which, and about forty years old. He had been page to count Bonneval, before he quitted the imperial service and turned Turk. He then went to the Russians, and served in the Crimea against the Turks, of whom he had borrowed much that was Turkish and inhuman, as well in the attack as in the enquiry after enemies. He was not apt to boast of his deeds, and to outward appearance very sociable. To make him talk of his successful enterprises, it was necessary to urge him and to say that he was cruel. A charge of this kind was once made against him in my presence, at the table of count Alexander Dohna. He confessed that, after the first peasant whom he accosted had answered his questions concerning the position and strength of the enemy, it was his practice to shoot him dead; and if the second made a different or an equivocal report, it cost him his life too. 'But,' he added, 'I am forced to do this, or I and my whole detachment might be undone. When I am in the rear of the enemy, my life and the lives of

my men depend on the choice of the place where I bait and rest for a few hours. In the day time I keep mostly in woods; and when I come out in the evening, it is absolutely necessary for me to know how near I am to the enemy and what is his strength. The peasant may tell me the truth, but I cannot be sure of that. He may deceive me too. But if, in this enquiry, I send a few into the other world, this certainly severe proceeding soon brings the truth to light, and I know whether to stop or to go further.'"

Other cases of wanton cruelty which reached Frederick's ears were punished with unsparing rigour. Colonel Gören, of prince Henry's regiment, asked general Selchow where he should procure wood. The general replied that he might see if he could get some in the villages. The colonel immediately despatched a party, which, instead of seeking wood, began to plunder most wantonly. The mayor showed the king's letter of safeguard; but no attention was paid to it, and his house was completely pillaged. The mayor immediately complained to the king. Colonel Gören and the officer sent out for wood were put under arrest; a court-martial decided that the colonel should make compensation for the damage done. The king accordingly commanded the colonel to pay the mayor one thousand dollars for the plundered houses, and cashiered him into the bargain.

In the camp near Brieg, Carstedt states: "The margrave Henry here received his dismission, be-

cause so long as the siege lasted, in which operation he had a command, he was ill; but after the place was taken he got well immediately. The king gave his regiment to its commander, colonel Selchow."

It is related elsewhere that this prince, margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt and grandson of the Great Elector, was so arrant a coward as, during the battle of Mollwitz, to hide himself in a deep ditch. It is further said that he made a vow on that occasion to build a church and to observe a strict fast every year on the 10th of April, if he should escape from the field of battle with a whole skin. This vow he punctually performed; for he not only fasted annually on that day, but built the little French church in Schwedt. This prince possessed a variety of attainments and was a patron of the arts and sciences: he married a daughter of the old Dessauer's, succeeded his brother in the government of Schwedt in 1771, and died in 1788, when that lordship reverted to the king.

But the task which Frederick had undertaken, that of infusing a better spirit into his army, was not the work of a day. During the first campaign, the most unsparing severity towards the rapacious marauders could not stop the practice of plunder. It was of little avail that those caught in the fact were punished with death on the spot. Major-general Dewitz says in his Diary: "On the 6th of June, nothing further happened than that I received a letter from the king, in which he ordered

me to let the freebooters recently taken near the pass of Hummeln, be hanged along the high road between Reinerz and Lewin. On the 8th, therefore, I marched with 240 horse to Reinerz and had the eight freebooters hanged between that town and Lewin along the highway, close to the road, at the distance of 300 paces from one another."

Such executions were of little avail, as we learn from an account of Carstedt's. "Captain Borck, of Wedell's grenadier battalion, was ordered with one hundred grenadiers from Ottmachau to accompany the post of cavalry for Münsterberg half-way, and directed at the same time to bring back with him any forage that he might meet with. On his return through Lindenau, on the 21st of March, he posted lieutenant Röbell with thirty men before the village, and with the rest went direct to the chateau. The owner enquired what they wanted, and received a harsh answer. Seeing such a large party of grenadiers, who had already begun to plunder, he flew into so violent a passion that he was seized with apoplexy, and dropped down dead. The lady of the house fell at the feet of the officer and implored him not to take every thing; but to no purpose. Every one took what he liked. They carried off all her silver plate, a gold watch, money, clothes, linen. The very servants were stripped of their clothes. They then went to the catholic priest's; he was just at dinner with his curates. They immediately seized the silver spoons, knives, plates, broke open chests and boxes, took what

they found, and as there was nothing left for the last comers, they obliged the priest to procure 50 ducats to get rid of them. After they had plundered the whole place, they at last bethought them of the forage; and, as they could not find sacks, they turned the feathers out of the bed-ticks and filled them with corn. Lieutenant Röbell had the greatest difficulty to keep his party together; for, when they saw the others plundering, he was forced to use severity to prevent them from leaving him."

But let us turn from these atrocities committed by what is called "the best disciplined army of that time." Among the Austrians things were infinitely worse. Their numerous light troops were not to be kept within any bounds. "Among the Austrian troops in general," says Hoyer in his History of the War, "notwithstanding their rigid discipline, there seems to have prevailed an incessant disposition to excesses, which broke out not unfrequently at most unseasonable times. The battle of Mollwitz would probably have had a very different result, if the Austrian hussars, who had turned the Prussians, had attacked them in the rear instead of plundering the baggage at Pampitz. Precisely the same case occurred at the battle of Chotusitz. Here the imperial cavalry of the left wing might, by a bold attack on the Prussian infantry, have effected their defeat; so far from this, they plundered the Prussian camp, and thus contributed, mediately at least, to the loss of the battle."

The pillage of the Prussian camp by Nadasdy's corps during the battle of Sorr has been related in its proper place: I may add that, owing to this circumstance, the Austrian commander's plan of operation remained for the most part unexecuted. Carstedt gives the following particulars:—"The Prussian baggage was quite a godsend to the Austrians. The whole corps forgot the enemy and fell upon the waggons. These were plundered: the sick and the subalterns who were with them were maltreated and some of them burned; for many of the waggons were set on fire, after the horses had been taken away from them. Among this baggage was the king's whole field equipage. Croats, Pandours, Tolpatches, and hussars, here found everything that their rapacity could desire. The loss of the Prussians was estimated at three millions of dollars, including the military chest containing 700,000. The king himself lost everything, and was obliged to borrow a bed of marshal prince Leopold, and a few hundred dollars of other generals. At first he intended to indemnify us for our losses, and we were required to give a statement of them upon our honour. But, finding that the sum amounted to millions, he comforted us by saying that he had himself lost everything, and that it was impossible for him, under present circumstances, to make us compensation. So we got nothing. As I had lost tent, cart, three horses, clothes, linen, in short everything except one pack-horse with my bed, I estimated my loss at 440 dollars."

Desertion too was far more frequent among the Austrians. The more confidence the soldiers acquired in Frederick's military talents, the more they imbibed the *esprit du corps*, and the prouder they grew of the name of Prussian soldiers, the more rarely did they desert their colours. Among the Austrians, on the contrary, the number of the deserters was incredible. The battle of Hohenfriedberg deprived them of nearly one third of their army by desertion. After every battle, the runaways from the beaten army came in by hundreds: but very often they scarcely staid long enough to put on the uniform of their new masters, before they were off again with their enlisting money to their former colours.

Such is the picture of an army whose heroic achievements extorted from the great Frederick the exulting exclamation: "The world rests not more securely upon the shoulders of Atlas than Prussia upon such an army!" The same homeless mercenaries who hire their lives to a warlike prince for a few groschen, who, brought up in grossness and ignorance, divested of human feelings, are accustomed to be kept in order by blows and revolting chastisements, who have perhaps to-day sworn fidelity to their new colours, defy death to-morrow in the murderous battle. For a foreign cause, for a worthless price, under the stripes of their tormentors, they rush through the fire of batteries where death mows down whole ranks, into the phalanx of the enemy; wade through swamps and half-frozen

waters to get at the foe; glide down precipices with the musket between their legs; and climb steep heights slippery with ice and blood. The hussars, formerly useful only as scouts and skirmishers, now perform the duty of the most disciplined cavalry; one regiment of dragoons overthrows regiments of infantry, and two battalions of foot storm a battery of thirty pieces of cannon, covered by half an army. Nothing but the animating breath of the great Frederick could have infused such a spirit into these machines, and excited their rude energies to deeds of the most heroic valour.

CHAPTER XXI.

Frederick's Person.—He builds himself the Palace of Sans Souci.—Anecdotes relative to it.—Associates of the King at this time.—Marquis d'Argens.—Algarotti.—The Abbé Bastiani.—Count Rothenburg.—Maupertuis.—De la Metrie.—Field-marshal Keith.—His brother, Lord Marischal.—Severity with which the King treated his Friends.

FREDERICK had now returned from the toils and perils of war to the circle of his family and friends, to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and to the study of the welfare of his dominions and the prosperity of his subjects.

He was in the flower of life. He had just completed his thirty-fourth year, had attained the height of five feet five or six inches, and was well grown and well proportioned. His face was embrowned by exposure to all the vicissitudes of the atmosphere during his campaigns; and his countenance bespoke gravity and dignity when not lit up by the sallies of wit and humour, which his own example elicited from his intimate associates. His eyes, remarkably animated and brilliant, were a living index of his active and energetic mind. His nose was long and well formed, and his hair light brown. His step was quick, his bearing noble; he rode well, and when he appeared in public, was generally on horseback. When young, his head inclined somewhat to the left, like Alexander's; in

more advanced life a little to the right, from playing on the flute. He had an excellent memory and a fluent tongue. His sight was very good for near objects; for more distant ones he was obliged to use a glass so early as the first Silesian war; but for reading and writing he never employed either glass or spectacles.

Soon after his accession to the throne, Frederick had felt the want of a retirement situated nearer to Potsdam, the military heart of his dominions, than his beloved Rheinsberg; and had begun, during the short interval of peace between the two Silesian wars, to found such a one not far from that city. Here, in August, 1744, he gave directions for the construction of six terraces, each of twelve steps, for the cultivation of vines; and at the same time he had a vault dug, and lined with marble, for his grave, before the foundation of the palace itself was laid. In one of his walks to this place with the marquis d'Argens, Frederick told him that, as he intended to build a summer residence on this pleasant spot, he had also conceived the idea of preparing a grave there for himself; and, pointing to the place which he had chosen for it, he added: "Quand je serai là, je serai sans souci." To this accidental expression, the building afterwards erected here owed its name of Sans-Souci. Baron Knobelsdorf was the architect employed by the king, who himself furnished the ground-plan, drawn with the pen, which is still extant, as well as various remarks relative to the details, and an estimate of

the expence. The edifice consists of one story only. Knobelsdorf wished to add a basement, for the purpose of preventing damp, and giving a look of more importance to the whole; but the king adhered to his original plan, and Boumann was appointed director of the work instead of Knobelsdorf. The place was originally called the Pleasure-house in the King's Vineyard; but, in 1746, Frederick gave it the appellation of Sans-Souci, which he had placed in gold letters on the garden front, and in the same year designated himself "The Philosopher of Sans-Souci," in the title to his Memoirs of the History of Brandenburg. Much of the furniture was procured from Paris. What we should call the house-warming took place on the 1st of May, 1747, when the king gave a splendid entertainment of two hundred covers, followed by a grand concert in the evening. The night between the 19th and 20th of the same month was the first that he spent in his new residence.

The building, seated on a gentle elevation, not far from the Brandenburg gate of Potsdam, is small and low. An open colonnade leads to the hall, lined with marble, lighted by a cupola supported by splendid columns. The pavement is decorated with flowers in mosaic work, and the ceiling is handsomely painted. The apartments once occupied by the founder himself, are simple; the furniture is old fashioned, and though no change is said to have been made in it since his death, some of the articles are no doubt of later date. There hangs

the watch which he wound up every day with his own hand, pointing to the moment when he expired, at which it is related to have stopped. There, too, are the French classics, bound in red morocco, which furnished him with daily recreation and employment. The arm-chair, in which he breathed his last, is said to have devolved as a relic to a princess of his family. Precisely opposite to the king's apartment was the vault above-mentioned, which he must have seen whenever he approached the window, and over which was placed, in 1749, a recumbent statue of Flora by Adam. The concert-room, Voltaire's cabinet, with specimens of his handwriting, the library, wainscoted with cedar, and decorated with gilt foliage, and the hall, containing a valuable collection of pictures, are worthy of notice. The celebrated statues of the Polignac cabinet formed the principal ornaments of this temple of art, till it was stripped of them by the Russians during the seven years' war.

The palace commands a noble prospect. In front is seen the vineyard with its six terraces, where the best sorts of vines are cultivated in hothouses. The view embraces also the park, the lakes of the Havel, and the city. At the foot of the palace lies the pleasure-garden, and beyond that begins the park. The Japanese house, on the left of the principal alley, two temples by the side of a stone bridge, containing works of art from the collections of Polignac and Stosch, and a grotto, are necessary

appendages according to the taste of those times; and were built by Knobelsdorf.

The resort of the idle and curious to this retreat was always annoying to Frederick, and in later years he took measures to prevent them from breaking in upon him against his will. To scare them away, he had a bust of the duke of Alva, a hideous and repulsive caricature, set up on a pillar of Egyptian porphyry six feet high, close to the bridge in the garden leading to the basin and the terrace of Little Sans-Souci, "that," as he once said to Lucchesini, "strangers, who might be tempted to encroach on my domain, may be frightened by the duke's ugly face, and turn back."

After the peace of Hubertsburg, Frederick erected the new palace, a splendid and tasteful edifice; and his successor built what is called the Marble Palace in the new garden, for which he took the pillars belonging to the colonnade of the original Sans-Souci.

Here the king collected around him those intimate friends who dwelt under the same roof with himself; here he daily supplied his ministers and secretaries with abundant employment; here his ever-active mind was engaged with his works; here he wrote the history of his house, and, like Cæsar, recorded his own exploits; here he projected laws for the benefit of his subjects; here he guided the politics of cabinets; here he weighed with the same balance the fate of the beggar and the prince; and

here thought and felt, here lived and died, Frederick the Great.

I find on record circumstances connected with the formation of this royal residence, which reflect great honour on the sense of justice of a monarch in the highest degree absolute.

When the park was laid out, he was vexed that the alley to the principal entrance of Sans-Souci could not be carried in a straight line, and that it must form an angle. The difficulty arose from the pertinacity of an old widow, who would not sell at any price a house and a piece of ground belonging to her, because they had devolved to her by inheritance. All sorts of expedients for conquering this difficulty were proposed at the king's table. Count Rothenburg insisted that the king had a right to force the owner to part with her property, if he gave her three times its worth, or a better house instead of it in another situation: but d'Argens, a bitter enemy to every despotic act, and the zealous champion of the oppressed, warmly espoused the cause of the poor widow, and declared that, if the king had a right to do this, he had a right, upon the same principle, to extend his claims from the house to the wife or the daughter of any of his subjects; in which case, it was evident, no sum of money would compensate for the loss. The king put an end to the discussion with the words: "D'Argens is right!" and the alley forms an angle to this day.

A similar anecdote is related of a miller whose

mill Frederick wished to purchase, because it prevented the completion of the plan of the garden. The king promised him not only an adequate compensation in money, but likewise another mill. But the miller, just as obstinate as the old woman in the preceding case, refused the most tempting offers of the sovereign, alleging that the mill had been left him by his father, and he was determined to leave it to his children. At length Frederick said to him peevishly: "Don't you know that I can take your mill from you, without giving you a single groschen for it?" "Yes, your majesty, you might if there was no court of justice in Berlin," replied the miller. This ready answer pleased the king so well, that he left the miller in undisturbed possession of his patrimony, and altered the plan of his garden.

Among the most intimate of Frederick's associates at this period was the marquis d'Argens, a native of Aix in Provence, where his father was procureur general to the parliament. He was originally placed against his inclination in the army, afterwards attached to the embassy in Constantinople, a second time obliged to embrace the military profession, for which he was rendered unfit by a fall from his horse. Disinherited by his father for the irregularity of his conduct, he went to Holland, supported himself by authorship, and produced among other things his "Lettres Juives." In December, 1741, he arrived, in company with the dowager duchess of Wirtemberg, in Berlin, and was

recommended by Jordan to the king, whose offers induced him to fix his abode in the Prussian capital. Frederick made him chamberlain, co-director of the Academy, and what was still more his bosom friend. D'Argens possessed the rare gift of being devotedly attached to his royal patron, and not for a moment forgetting the king in the friend. On account of his amiable disposition and manners, Frederick called him "le divin marquis;" he addressed to him numerous poetic epistles, and what Jordan had been to the king during the two wars of Silesia d'Argens afterwards was in the seven years' war. Much, however as the king esteemed d'Argens, he did not spare his hypochondriac humours, on which he was accustomed to rally him most unmercifully. At the age of nearly sixty, he fell in love with Mademoiselle Cochois the actress, and married her without Frederick's knowledge—a step which the king never entirely forgave him.

Thièbault relates some traits of the marquis which are sufficiently comic. He tells us that the lady just mentioned, before her marriage with d'Argens, made him a morning gown out of a rich dress, which she had been accustomed to wear on the stage in the characters of queens. When she brought it to him, the marquis was so delighted that he determined to try it on immediately, and he was so pleased with it that he resolved to wear it the rest of the evening. As, however, he had to go up to the king—the marquis occupied the same apartments as Voltaire had done, immediately underneath

his majesty's—he sent word that he was ill. Frederick was informed of all these particulars, and to punish the childishness and the lie of the philosopher, he disguised himself as a priest, made those about him put on black, and they all went down in procession to the apartments of the marquis. The person who headed it had a bell, the tinkling of which was heard below while they were descending the stairs. La Pierre, d'Argens' valet, ran to see what was the matter, and, from his report, it was apparent that the marquis was the object of this extraordinary visit. As he would not be found up and had no time to undress, he got into bed in his clothes. In a few moments the procession entered solemnly and slowly; those composing it ranging themselves in a semicircle round the pretended sick man. The king who closed it stepped into the middle of the semicircle, and intimated to the patient, that the Church, always an affectionate mother and full of solicitude for her children, had sent the assistance most proper for strengthening him in the critical state in which he was; he exhorted him in a short address to be resigned, and then turning down the bed-clothes and emptying a whole bottle of oil on the beautiful morning gown, he assured his dying brother that this emblem of divine grace would infallibly give him, if he had ever so little of the gift of faith, the courage necessary for passing like a christian from this world to the next. His visitors then bade him a last farewell; and the procession retired with the same

solemn step and serious look as it had come. It is impossible to say how sorry the marquis was about his handsome dressing gown and how deeply he was mortified by the whole scene; though he well knew how fond the king was of mystifications of this kind, in some of which he had himself borne a part, especially on the following occasion.

The pastor of a village in Pomerania had ventured in a sermon on Herod to make some allusions to the king. He sent for him to Potsdam, under the assumed name of a superior ecclesiastic, to attend a consistory. The poor man was met and conducted to it by persons sent for the purpose. The king had put on a churchman's gown and band; while d'Argens and Pöllnitz wore a similar disguise. A volume of Bayle's Dictionary was laid on the table to represent the Bible, and the culprit was introduced by two grenadiers to these three ministers of the Lord. "Brother," said the king, "I ask you in the name of God, about what Herod did you preach?"—"About the Herod who killed all the little children," replied the parson.—"I ask you whether it was Herod the first of that name; for, you know, there were several Herods." The minister was posed. "What," said his examiner, "do you presume to preach about Herod without knowing anything of his family? You are not worthy of the sacred ministry: we forgive you, however, for this time, remember, you shall be suspended if hereafter you ever preach against any person whom you know nothing about."—His

pardon was then delivered to him signed by three ridiculous names, which they had invented. "We are going to Berlin to-morrow," added the king; "we will speak to our brethren in your behalf; don't fail to come to us there." The poor parson accordingly repaired to Berlin, and inquiring for the three clergymen, exposed himself to much laughter, but got off with this pleasantry and the expence of the journey.

Thiebault assures us that the following anecdote was related to him by Pöllnitz himself:—

One day when the marquis and the baron were to dine with the king, who sat down to table at twelve o'clock precisely, the latter called at eleven to fetch the former. Surprised to find him still in bed, he inquired if he was ill and told him what time it was: on which the marquis agitated and enraged called his valet, La Pierre, and severely upbraided him for not calling him before. "Surely," said La Pierre, "you might have looked at your watch; I have my work to attend to, and I don't know what else you have to do. Must I tell you everything, just like a little child?" The marquis was furious; he darted out of bed, ran and snatched up a billet of wood, and turned towards his valet, who stood motionless, crossing his arms, and coolly said: "There! that's what they call a philosopher! Come on, sir, punish me for your own faults and repay my zeal and fidelity by knocking me on the head; that will do great honour to philosophy."— "Ah! my friend!" exclaimed the marquis, "I beg

your pardon; but pray dress me as quick as you can, that I may arrive if possible, before they sit down to table. La Pierre used such diligence that his master's wish was accomplished. As for the baron, he never could think of this scene without laughing heartily at the contrast between the countenances of the two actors.

When, after the seven years' war, d'Argens paid the second visit to his native country since he went to reside in Prussia, to see his family, he was thunderstruck to find by the way an ordinance apparently issued by the bishop of Aix, in which he was specially mentioned and excommunicated for blasphemy. This publication gave him great uneasiness, till he discovered that "bishop" had been erroneously attached to the signature instead of "archbishop" and rightly guessed that it was a trick of the king's, from whom, on his return he had to endure more severe sarcasms than ever. Hence frequent quarrels and coolnesses arose between them. The marquis, moreover, felt a strong desire to pass the remainder of his days in France. Though he had agreed with the king on entering his service that he should be at liberty to retire at the age of seventy, and he had passed that period, still he could not venture to apply for his dismissal, but solicited leave of absence for six months, which was granted with difficulty. After spending some time with his brother in Provence, he was returning towards Prussia, when he was taken very ill at Bourg en Bresse. His wife was so occupied in

attendance upon him, that she omitted writing to the king to explain the cause of their prolonged absence; and Frederick, hearing nothing of the marquis, concluded that he had given him the slip and angrily struck his name out of the pension list. D'Argens was equally angry at this return for his long services, and went back immediately to Provence, where he died in 1771. When the king heard of his death he ordered a marble monument to be erected for his old friend in the church of Eguilles, where he was buried.

One of the most amiable of Frederick's friends at this period was Francis Algarotti, a native of Venice, who had united the practice of the arts with the study of the graver sciences. He was very young when he laid the foundation of his literary reputation by a work in the style of Fontenelle's Plurality of Worlds, printed in Paris in 1737. Till 1739, he lived alternately in the French capital, at Cirey with the marquise du Chatelet, and in London. He then accompanied Lord Baltimore to Petersburg, and paid a visit on his return to Frederick, then prince-royal, at Rheinsberg. The prince was so pleased with him that he made him a member of the order of Bayard, by the appellation of *cher Cygne de Padoue*, and, after his accession to the throne, invited him to Berlin, gave him the Order of Merit, and the chamberlain's key, and created him a count. Algarotti was equally esteemed by the king of Poland, who conferred on him the character of privy councillor; and he then resided

sometimes in Berlin, sometimes in Dresden, but more commonly in the latter city. Unable, however, to reconcile himself to the restraint of courts, Algarotti returned in 1754 to Italy, and died at Pisa in 1764. Here Frederick caused a monument by Bianconi to be erected to his memory in the churchyard. The king furnished the design for it himself. It consists of a bust of the deceased in alto-relievo; on the right of the medallion is Psyche, the emblem of immortality, on the left a genius with torch reversed. Beneath the medallion is the inscription: ALGAROTTUS NON OMNIS. Algarotti's attainments were extensive, diversified, and in many branches solid. His contemporaries placed great reliance upon his judgment in painting and architecture; and its correctness in regard to the former is proved by various pictures in the gallery of Dresden purchased upon his recommendation. He himself drew and etched with great ability. His literary works display wit and acuteness; his poetry has more grace than fire; but his letters are considered as some of the finest in the Italian language. The latest edition of his works was published at Venice in seventeen volumes.

The abbé Bastiani, who was always welcome at the king's table was also a Venetian, but of a very different stamp, Thiébault, who must have known him, says that he was originally a monk, and that the emissaries of Frederick William, hearing of his unusual stature, dogged him and carried him away from the altar one day while he was saying mass in

a village on the borders of Tyrol and the Grisons. On his arrival in Berlin, he was made a common soldier, but his adventure excited notice. The prince-royal was curious to see a man who had thus been forced to exchange the frock for the uniform, and, conceiving a favourable opinion of his understanding, he became interested in his favour. As soon as Frederick was on the throne he took him from his regiment, gave him the first canonry that was vacant at Breslau, and from that period Bastiani became a courtier and a canon, with an income of 15,000 livres, dividing his time between his stall, the boudoirs of the ladies, the palaces of kings, and the mansions of the great.

I am disposed to give more credit to another account which represents Bastiani as the son of a tailor of Venice, who left his country of his own accord, and was reduced to such distress as to be obliged to eat grass. After a variety of adventures, he fell into the hands of Prussian crimps at Frankfurt, and was taken to Breslau, where chance introduced him to the notice of cardinal Sinzendorf, bishop of Breslau, who procured his release from military service and appointed him his secretary; and in this capacity he became known to the king, after the conquest of Silesia. Frederick, conceiving a favourable opinion of his talents, first sent him on a mission to the pope, and afterwards honoured him with his intimacy.

Thiébault describes Bastiani as dull and heavy-looking, but possessing that shrewdness and cunning

for which credit is generally given to his countrymen; and, from the anecdotes which he relates of the abbé, there can be no doubt that Frederick was well acquainted with his real character. In conversation, we are told by the writer just mentioned, Bastiani was often perfectly silent, but never inactive. He was essentially an observer, listening to all that was said, and watching all that was done, with his eye-glass continually in his hand. He amused himself with the wit and the epigrams of others; never uttering any himself. Only a single repartee by him is recorded. Frederick, having convinced himself that he aspired to be something more than a canon, began to banter him. "A man of your merit and talents!" said he, "cannot possibly remain where you are: you must rise higher: you are sure to attain a prelacy, then a cardinal's hat, and even the tiara. But then, what will become of me? I dare say you will refuse me your blessing, and I shall not be admitted to kiss upon my knees your holy slipper. Should any one mention me, methinks I see and hear you answering with warm indignation: 'What! that impious heretic, that imp of hell! Cursed be he and damned! Let me never hear of him more!'"— "Ah sire! ah sire!" cried the abbé, as though begging him to desist; but the king was not in the humour to desist. "When at length you are pope," he resumed, "as it is sure you will be, let me know beforehand what reception I may expect if I come to Rome. When I appear before your holiness

what will you say?"—"Sire, I will say, 'O mighty eagle, cover me with thy wings but save me from thy beak!'"

Soon after the first partition of Poland, there was published a pamphlet entitled: *Le Gateau des Rois* (The Twelfth Cake). We all read it with avidity, says Thièbault, and laughed heartily among ourselves, but nobody had the courage to mention it to the king. In a few months, the author sent Frederick a copy with an anonymous letter. The king lost no time in reading this trifle, in which he acted a conspicuous part. At dinner, he seated himself between count Nesselrode and the abbé Bastiani. It was not long before he referred to the pamphlet. "An anonymous writer," said he, "has been so polite as to send me a *cake*. It appears that the pamphlet has been published some months, and yet I had not met with it. Have you read it, abbé?"—"No sire," replied the hypocrite, "I never read or know anything about those contemptible pamphlets, which are a disgrace to literature."—"And you, count, have you read it?"—"Yes sire, I read it from beginning to end two or three months ago."—"Abbé, I like this German frankness," said Frederick, turning to the Italian, with that smiling sardonic look which was so common with him. Then again addressing the count, "Well," said he, "since you have read it through, how do you like it?"—"I confess, sire, that I was exceedingly amused with it. It made me laugh most heartily."—He again turned to the abbé, with those keen and

sarcastic words: "Take notice, abbé, of this frankness of our forefathers: indeed, I like it much.—I too have devoured that little cake this morning, my dear count; the author has spiced the part destined for me rather highly: he trims me soundly and does not spare me; but, as he has wit, he has made me laugh and I forgive him. But, my dear count, since you have read it, why did you not mention it to me, you who are in my service and who are tenacious of doing your duty like a man of honour?"—"Though I make a point of doing my duty, I am not anxious to extend the circle of it indiscreetly. Had your majesty included within it this kind of revelations, I would either have obeyed your commands or retired: but in circumstances so unimportant at bottom I should never think of going beyond the line of my duty. I know not whether your majesty has or has not any one whose office it is to give you an account of works of this sort; I know not whether it is your wish that they should be mentioned to you; and I will not suffer myself to be led, even by zeal, into what might after all be an indiscretion."—"Oh abbé! admire with me this frankness, which the count has inherited from our worthy ancestors!"—This little comic scene was the only punishment that the king inflicted on the lying hypocrisy of the abbé, who had read the pamphlet and laughed at it as heartily as any of the rest. Bastiani survived his royal patron, dying at Potsdam in 1787.

Count Rothenburg, a Silesian nobleman, who

had been in the French service, and had embraced the Catholic religion, was also at this time one of the favourite companions of the king. He exchanged the French for the Prussian service in 1741, and in 1744 was sent by Frederick as ambassador extraordinary to Paris, to negociate a treaty, in consequence of which Louis XV. declared war against Austria. He died in 1751, and during his last illness Frederick frequently visited him and sat for hours by his bed to cheer his spirits; and when word was brought to him of the count's death, he ran from the palace half dressed through the street, insisted that a trial should be made to bleed him, and himself held the basin for the operation.

Rothenburg is believed to have been the person who instilled into the king the prejudices which he entertained against the Germans, whom he thought incapable of producing any work of ingenuity or delicacy. The count, one day, procured for him a very handsome snuff-box, which he passed off as made by one of the best workmen in Paris. This box slipped by accident out of the king's hand and was broken. "It is a pity," said Frederick; "I was very fond of that box." One of his friends advised him to have it mended. "And by whom?" enquired the king. "Are not all the German workmen bunglers?" His friend assured him that he knew a very clever man, by whom he would engage to get it repaired. The box was carried to the man, who was asked whether he could mend it. "It would be strange if I could not," replied he,

"for it was I who made it." At the same time he furnished incontestable proofs of what he advanced. When the box was carried back to the king, care was taken to inform him that it was the work of a German artist, on which he coldly replied: "Made at Berlin, eh? well then, I make you a present of it, I shall not use it again."

Thiébault relates a circumstance concerning this nobleman, but without mentioning his name, which is far less honourable to his character than the deception just detailed. The Catholic church in Berlin is one of the finest buildings in that capital. The plan of it was highly approved by cardinal Alberoni, who contributed as far as lay in his power to its execution, and who had the high altar, which is much admired by artists, wrought at Rome under his own inspection. Collections were made in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, and Germany, for building this church. A certain count, a chamberlain of the king's, and a very good catholic, placed himself at the head of this pious undertaking. Several hundred workmen were at first actively engaged upon it. The vaults are perhaps the finest and the most solid of any in the whole kingdom. The edifice was carried up to the roof: the scaffolding within it resembled a forest. The zeal of its patrons then began to abate; the workmen attended morning and evening when their names were called over, but were employed elsewhere all day. But though the work was stopped, the expence continued. The count, a profligate

spendthrift, at length died, and was the first person buried in the superb vaults, leaving debts to the amount of one hundred thousand livres (4000*l.*) contracted in the name of the catholic church. After the seven years' war the king discharged this debt, and had the beautiful structure completed at his own expence. Its consecration by the bishop of Ermeland was "a ceremony of cruel length," says Thiébault, "which kept us from six in the morning till long after twelve at noon."

Maupertuis, a native of St. Malo, who commenced life in the French military service, retired from it to devote himself entirely to the sciences; and had acquired considerable celebrity by his mission in 1736, with several other scientific men, to Lapland, for the purpose of measuring a degree of the meridian, in order to verify Newton's doctrine relative to the form of the earth at the poles. In 1741 Frederick invited him to Berlin, "My heart and my inclination," he wrote to him, "have, from the first moment that I ascended the throne, excited in me a desire to have you here, that you may give the Academy that form which it can only receive from you. Come then and insert in this wild stock the graft of science, that it may produce fruit. You have shown the world the figure of the earth; come and afford a king the pleasure of possessing a man like yourself." Maupertuis accepted the invitation; the king conferred on him the order of Merit, and in 1746 appointed him president of the Academy of Sciences. His sub-

sequent quarrels with Voltaire, which were far from placing either his judgment or his temper in the most favourable light, will be noticed in the proper place.

De la Metrie, whom Voltaire has characterized as "the most frank atheist in Europe, but gay, agreeable, and half mad," was also born at St. Malo, studied medicine under the celebrated Boerhaave, whom he nevertheless lampooned, and was appointed surgeon to the regiment of the duke of Grammont. His first work, a compound of the grossest materialism and atheism, was burned at Paris by the hand of the common hangman, and he was obliged to quit France. He retired to Leyden, but other works in the same spirit as the first, and virulent attacks on his professional colleagues deprived him of that asylum. Frederick, hearing of his destitute condition, offered him through Maupertuis a provision in Berlin, which de la Metrie accepted. Here the king made him his reader and gave him a place in the Academy. These appointments he enjoyed but a short time, dying in 1751. Dining with Lord Tyrconnel, envoy from France at the court of Berlin, he ate so immoderately of a pie stuffed with truffles that indigestion ensued and carried him off in twenty-four hours.

The king was fond of de la Metrie's company, on account of his invariable good-humour, wit, and readiness at repartee: indeed he was one of the few who could defend themselves with any success against the sallies of the sarcastic monarch. "One

evening, after supper, Frederick bantered de la Metrie a great deal, and the answers of the latter piqued him more, it was thought, than he chose to show. The conversation between them became more and more brisk. De la Metrie had dropped some expressions about sovereigns, states, and politics. The king took him up. "Hark ye, de la Metrie," said he, "you are a physician, and prodigiously learned into the bargain; but don't meddle with politics; it is not your province." Bending confidentially towards de la Metrie, he continued in an under-tone: "Listen to me: we have just been eating of a variety of delicate ragouts and savoury fricassees. You, as an experienced physician, know what all ragouts turn to in a few hours. Now tell us how all these things can be so greatly changed, and what part each ragout will have in the mass: tell us at once, doctor."

De la Metrie, putting on a grave look, replied, without hesitation: "*Parbleu*, sire, that is a political affair too; I maintain, then, that it falls within your majesty's province."

"Why," exclaimed the king, "are you mad? a political affair? I maintain that it is a medical affair, that it belongs to your department, and that you must explain it to us. Come, let us have it."

"Well," rejoined de la Metrie, "since it is your majesty's command, I say that our whole machine forms a state, well-regulated or ill-regulated as it happens. In the first place, the stomach is the king."

Frederick interrupted him. "Only look at the madman! and pray why is the stomach the king?"

"Begging your majesty's pardon, because we give it everything, and because, like a good king, it reserves very little for itself but distributes nearly the whole again, and when it does this properly and performs all its functions as it ought to do, the whole state is in a healthy condition. The arms and legs are the military class, who defend the state, either attacking the enemy or retreating. In the brain is the seat of the scholars and philosophers—it is the brain that thinks, as your majesty knows—but the brain dares not think unless his most gracious majesty the stomach permits; for if that majesty should happen to be ill, adieu to thought. The mesentery is the seat of the artisans and manufacturers; there are prepared the juices by which all the members are nourished."

"Well," said the king, again interrupting him, "and the intestines? Come to the point, doctor; what is that mass?"

"That is the king's treasure," said de la Metrie, striving to look as grave as possible.

"Why now," cried Frederick, "is it not evident that you are stark mad? Is there one word of sense in all your jabber?"

"O yes!" rejoined de la Metrie, "and very sound sense too!—The treasure is the surplus of that which has supported all the citizens of the state. If digestion has not duly taken place, if the juices do not circulate as they ought, then no part

will be properly nourished: in this case there does not come sufficient into the treasury, *c'est parceque l'état est constipé;* or there comes too much into it, what the labouring classes in the mesentery ought by right to have had, c'est *qu'allait l'état à une diarrhée colliquative.* Lastly, the treasure is applied to the manuring of the fields, destined to furnish supplies for the further nourishment of the stomach and all its dominions."

Two of the most estimable and most esteemed of the king's friends entered his service in the year 1747: these were field-marshal Keith and his elder brother, the earl-marshal of Scotland, and thence commonly called Lord Marshal. Both brothers had joined the party of the Pretender in 1715; and the younger fought under his standard at Sherifmuir, where he was wounded. The failure of that expedition of course doomed them to exile from their country. The younger, then only nineteen, went to Paris, studied mathematics, and afterwards travelled in Switzerland, Italy, and Portugal. In Paris he was presented to Peter the Great, but declined entering into his service out of respect for Charles XII. It was probably on the invitation of his brother, the earl-marshal, that he went to Madrid, where he was appointed colonel in an Irish regiment. He accompanied the duke of Leyria, who was sent as ambassador to Petersburg, entered into the Russian service, distinguished himself in the wars with Turkey and Sweden, went after the peace of Abo as ambassador to Stockholm, and was promoted on his return to

the rank of field-marshal. Actuated by affection to his brother, to whom he had always been most tenderly attached, and whose offers of service to the cabinet of St. Petersburg had been rejected, and disgusted also by cabals, he quitted Russia and was received with open arms by Frederick in 1747. In a letter to his brother, forming part of the manuscript collections relating to the family of Keith, recently in the possession of the late Honourable Admiral Fleming, he gives an interesting account of his motives for leaving Russia and the circumstances attending what may fairly be called his escape from that country. This letter, dated October 28th, 1747, is too long for transcription. It concludes with an account of the reception of the writer by the Prussian monarch to whom he offered his services, and who immediately appointed him field-marshal in his army. The king is mentioned by him in these terms: "I have the honour and which is still more the pleasure of being with the king at Potsdam. . . . and to dine and sup with him almost every day. He has more wit than I have wit to tell you, speaks solidly and knowingly on all kinds of subjects; and I am much mistaken if, with the experience of four campaigns, he is not the best officer of his army."

In 1749, the field-marshal was appointed governor of Berlin, and continued to enjoy the intimacy and esteem of his sovereign till his glorious death in the battle of Hochkirch, during the seven years' war. Frederick honoured his memory by a statue

erected in the Wilhelm's Platz at Berlin, "Keith," he says, "was mild in manners, a virtuous and moral man: he was an excellent soldier, and united with habits in the highest degree polished heroic intrepidity in the day of battle."

The earl marshal, who had commenced his career in the British army and served under the duke of Marlborough, entered after his attainder into that of Spain, in which country he continued to reside. A devoted partisan of the Stuarts, he was implicated in their second unsuccessful attempt to regain the crown in 1745, and then sought an asylum in Russia; but, as it was refused him, he retired to Venice in 1746. Meanwhile, his younger brother, as we have seen, had established himself in Berlin, whither lord Marischal, in compliance with his invitations, soon repaired. Resembling his brother in character and manners, he won in an equal degree the regard of the king, and years seemed only to strengthen the mutual friendship which grew up between them. In 1751 Frederick sent him as ambassador extraordinary to Paris, conferred on him the order of the Black Eagle; four years afterwards he appointed him governor of Neufchatel; a post that seemed particularly to suit him, till it was rendered so disagreeable by the disturbances raised on account of Rousseau that he resigned it.

Being sent as ambassador to the court of Madrid, his lordship had the good-fortune to gain information of the family compact concluded between

the different branches of the house of Bourbon, which he communicated to Mr. Pitt, who was then a member of the British cabinet. So important was this service considered that George II. granted him a free pardon, and Frederick most unwillingly consented to his return to England. "If you should not like your own country," said he, "remember that you have here a friend who will always miss you, and to whose regret you can put an end whenever you please." On reaching England, he obtained an act of parliament reversing his attainder in a limited manner. In consequence, he re-purchased part of his family estates, intending to fix his residence in Scotland. "Were I a naval power," wrote Frederick to him, "I would certainly take you by surprize and carry you off. As it is, my dear Marischal, I can only extend the arms of a friend towards you. Return to the bosom of friendship, and spend the rest of your life here." Feeling himself a stranger in his native country, where all his early friends and connexions were dead, and finding the climate disagree with him, he yielded in 1764 to the solicitations of his royal patron and returned to Potsdam. The king built him a house, from the garden of which there was an entrance to Sans-Souci. He had liberty to dine every day with the king or not just as he pleased. When he sent word that he should dine with his majesty, Frederick would never sit down to table till his lordship arrived. The king himself helped him at dinner, and gave him such things as he

knew that he liked; and a particular room was set apart for his afternoon nap. When his great age prevented his going abroad, Frederick would frequently call to see and chat with him; and from all these extraordinary attentions paid to him Lord Marischal was universally called "The king's friend."

Describing in a letter his abode at Sans-Souci, Lord Marischal thus expressed himself:—"This palace is for me a sort of convent, in which I feel most happy; our father abbot is a man with whom it is very easy and very agreeable to live. Nevertheless, if I were in Spain, I should consider myself bound, as a matter of conscience, to denounce him to the holy Inquisition as an adept in witchcraft. For, if he had not bewitched me, should I stay here, where I can see only a faint image of the sun, when I might live and die in the incomparable climate of Valencia!"

Dutens who visited Prussia in 1777, thus speaks of him:—"We dined almost every day with Lord Marischal who was then eighty-five years old, and was still as young in body and mind as ever. The king had given him a house at the end of the garden of Sans-Souci, and went frequently to see him in it. He had dispensed with his dining with him, as his health would not permit him to remain long at table. He was the only one of all those who had been in favour with the king, who could really be called his friend, and who was devotedly attached to his person. The king, who was alive to friend-

ship, had remarked this disposition in him, and had set so much value upon it, that there never was any person for whom he had shown so much attention, deference, and affection. Every body, in consequence, paid court to him. He was never called any thing else but *the king's friend;* and indeed he alone merited the title, for he alone had always stood well with him, without flattering him." Lord Marischal died the year after this account of him was written.

But all those with whom Frederick condescended to associate were not so constant in their attachment as these two noble Scots. Some of them, no doubt, felt the truth of the king's own remark: "It is well to approach the diadem, but still better to be dependent only on one's self." The example of Algarotti proves how difficult it is for the private man of independent spirit to comply with the exactions of the monarch, for even he, while in Frederick's service, could not go from Potsdam to Berlin without permission. Numerous are the instances that might be adduced to show that the king never spared reproof or punishment, even in the cases of those who, on account of their intimacy with him might have expected favour. Thus the extravagance of Pöllnitz, who still had access to the court as a sort of royal jester, induced the king to order proclamation to be made by beat of drum, forbidding all to lend him money. Thus too Chazot, whom we have seen as one of his intimate associates at Rheinsberg, and afterwards signalizing himself at

Hohenfriedberg, learned in 1746 how inflexibly Frederick refused as king to make sacrifices to friendship. The major applied for a small piece of ground, that he might build himself a retreat upon it. Frederick would not comply with his request, alleging that he was determined not to diminish the domains a single foot. Chazot had afterwards the misfortune to kill major Bronikowski in a duel, and fled the country. The king granted the pardon which he solicited, but gave orders that when he returned, he should be visited with the severity of the law. Chazot was sentenced to confinement in a fortress, and it was only in consideration of the bravery which he had displayed as a military man and his general merit that Frederick set him at liberty in a few months. In 1752 he quitted the Prussian for the Danish service, in which he rose to be lieutenant-general and commandant of Lübeck; and when he paid a visit to his majesty in 1785, he was perhaps the only survivor of his oldest friends. —Even Knobelsdorf, notwithstanding the utility of his services, and though he had been appointed privy councillor of finance, superintendent of the royal palaces and gardens, and director of all public buildings in the provinces, had not the good-fortune to carry the royal favour with him to the grave in 1751, probably owing to some disagreement with the king on professional matters.

CHAPTER XXII.

Royal Family of Prussia.—The Queen-mother.—The Queen.—The Margravine of Bayreuth.—Her Daughter, the Duchess of Wirtemberg.—Prince Augustus William.—Princes Henry and Ferdinand.—Princess Sophia, margravine of Schwedt.—Margrave Frederick William.—Ulrica, queen of Sweden.—Charlotte, duchess of Brunswick.—Frederick's personal Habits.—His Cabinet Councillors; Eichel, Galster, Stellter.—Dinner.—Mode of despatching Business.—Literary employments.—Concerts.—Quantz.—Graun.—Fasch.—Supper.—Exercise abroad.—Annual Tours of inspection.—The King's Dress.—His Libraries.—His attachment to Dogs.

HAVING taken a survey of Frederick's most intimate friends, let us now turn to the members of his own family.

I have already shown what affectionate attention he paid on ascending the throne to his mother, to whom he gave the title of queen-mother with precedency before his own consort. He expressed his love and admiration of her in poems, and spared no expence to do her honour. Her birthday was always observed as an extraordinary festival and a new opera regularly performed on the occasion. Thus, on the 27th of March 1746, he determined to mark the day with the display of the utmost splendour: the war was over, and it was the first time since his accession that he had been at this season in Berlin. A new opera, The Dream of Scipio, was given. The court then dined in one of the royal apartments, which had been transformed

into a garden by means of dwarf-trees of uncommon kinds, all bearing ripe fruit, notwithstanding the early period of the year. The first course consisted of jewelry set with brilliants and valuable trinkets instead of eatables, for which lots were drawn. Six fresh dishes were successively brought, containing every thing that could gratify taste; but the dessert exhausted in ten representations all the wit and skill of the confectioners of the capital. Three months afterwards, the queen visited her illustrious son at Charlottenburg: concerts, plays, and fireworks were given in honour of her. On this occasion it was that a fire broke out in her apartments, but it was soon extinguished.

As for the queen, though all conjugal intercourse between herself and Frederick had ceased, yet, whenever he was going from Potsdam to Berlin, she always proceeded from Schönhausen to the capital to receive him, and regularly dined with him and the queen-mother. It is a singular fact that the king never visited her at Schönhausen but once, on occasion of a family meeting on the 23rd of July 1744. In 1742 he had appointed the widow of colonel von Camas, a lady of extraordinary mental qualifications, to be gouvernante to the queen. On Frederick's accession to the throne, he sent Camas, who had but one hand, as his envoy to Paris, to communicate the event to the court of Versailles, which, in return, despatched the marquis de Beauveau, who had likewise but one hand, to compliment the Prussian monarch on the occasion.

Camas died at Breslau of an inflammatory fever in 1741. To his widow, whom the king created a countess, he manifested, as long as she lived, the strongest and warmest attachment. He corresponded with her, and seemed to have selected her as the medium for acquainting the queen with all the more important occurrences of his life. He frequently made her friendly presents. Thus he once sent her some pounds of Spanish snuff, directing which packet she was to use first. On opening it, she found a note in the king's hand-writing, with a gold snuff-box richly set with diamonds. On another occasion she received a diamond ring, with a representation of two hearts joined together. A note which accompanied it said that, as the writer had always been an admirer of her's, he had caused these two hearts to be united on the ring; that he was perfectly indifferent as to what might be said on the subject, and she need care just as little. A poem addressed to her in advanced age by the king shows the extraordinary regard which he continued to entertain for her till her death, which took place at Schönhausen in 1766.

Among all his brothers and sisters, Frederick continued to be most tenderly attached to the margravine of Bayreuth. When she visited Berlin in August 1750, the king gave in honour of her a grand *caroussel* in the pleasure-garden, illuminated by innumerable lamps. The prince of Prussia led the quadrille of the Romans, prince Henry that of the Carthaginians, prince Ferdinand that of the

Greeks, and margrave Charles that of the Persians. Scaffolds with seats were erected for the numerous spectators, and the princess Amelia delivered the prizes agreeably to the judgment of the four umpires.—The margravine, on her part, sent him on his birthday in 1756 a sprig of laurel, plucked by herself from Virgil's tomb, accompanied by a suitable poetical epistle.

The only daughter of this princess was married at Frederick's recommendation to duke Charles of Wirtemberg, who, with his brothers, Louis and Frederick, had been educated in Berlin. On his quitting that capital, the king, in a letter to him, explained his views of the duties of a sovereign in these memorable words:—"Think not that the country of Wirtemberg was made for you, but rather believe that Providence has caused you to be born, in order to make the people of that country happy. Always prefer its prosperity to your pleasures. If, at your early age, you can sacrifice your own wishes to the welfare of your subjects, you will be not only the delight of your country but the admiration of the world."—The duke did not follow this well-meant advice. In the seven years' war, he even joined Frederick's enemies, plunged his country into debt, and made himself ridiculous by instituting the order of Charles for military merit, in order to inspire his officers with the greater courage against the Prussians. He was called in derision "the king of Swâbia," and died in 1793.

Frederick's eldest brother had, as we have seen, married in 1742 the sister of the queen, and as the king had no expectation of children from his own union, he conferred on him the title of prince of Prussia, or heir presumptive to the throne. He gave him in 1745 the palace of Oranienburg, dedicated to him, in an affectionate preliminary address, his Memoirs of the History of Brandenburg, and took a deep interest in the education of his children. That of his youngest brother the king entrusted to colonel von Stille, but at the same time paid vigilant attention to it himself. Stille, who had been one of Frederick's favoured associates when prince-royal, was an accomplished man, spoke Italian, English, and French, was fond of poetry and himself an author. He furnished in 1752 another proof what a distinction the king made between the officer and the friend. His regiment was not sufficiently perfect in manœuvring, and the king said to him in a tone of reproof: "It is not sufficient to study; you must attend to your regiment." Stille, whom Frederick always treated as a friend and confidant, and to whom he presented estates, died soon afterwards.

As a wife for his second brother, Henry, who distinguished himself on various occasions in the wars of Silesia, he selected the princess Wilhelmine of Hesse Cassel, gave him Rheinsberg for his life, and had a stately palace built for him in Berlin, which is now the university. After the peace, Henry applied himself assiduously to military

studies, and engaged in a paper war with his brother William, in the same way as a game at chess is sometimes played.

His youngest brother, Ferdinand, the king married to the princess Louisa of Schwedt.

Frederick's second sister, Sophie, had been married by her father against her will to the brutal margrave Frederick William of Brandenburg-Schwedt; he had been brought up by her father, who communicated to him his own harshness of manner and disposition, but could not excite in him a fondness for the military profession. Their union was most unhappy. Whenever the margrave complained of being a soldier and of having to build the great riding-house at Schwedt, he was accustomed to add how much more he was vexed to have Frederick's sister for his wife. During her father's life-time he somewhat restrained his brutality, but gave free scope to it afterwards. The princess frequently fled to Monplaisir or Berlin, but would more frequently claim protection of Frederick himself. The latter did not stop at friendly admonitions, but sent general Meier to Schwedt with unlimited authority to protect the margravine from insult. Meier, who resided for years together at Schwedt, possessed the requisite firmness for fulfilling this commission. One day, when the margravine wished to take a ride, her husband swore that if the coachman attempted to put the horses to the carriage, he should have fifty lashes. The princess complained to Meier, who went immediately to the

stables, and protested that he would order a hundred to be given to all the coachmen unless they immediately obeyed the directions of their mistress. The carriage came, and the margrave laughed immoderately when he heard the whining excuses of his coachmen. A few days afterwards, eight fine coach-horses arrived from Berlin. The margrave was highly delighted with the handsome present, till a cabinet letter undeceived him. The horses were destined for the separate use of the margravine, and he was required to pay two thousand dollars for them and the expense of their keep.

In 1764 Sophie was residing at Monplaisir, when she was seized with an illness which left no hope of recovery. Her husband wished to see her once more; but he had made a vow that he would never see or set foot again in the forest of Heinersdorf, in which that palace was situated, because he had lost an expensive suit relative to it. In this dilemma, he placed himself back foremost in the carriage, and on arriving at Monplaisir, got in at the window. His interview with the dying princess is described as most affecting: he had her removed in a sedan-chair, and carried to Schwedt, where she expired in his arms.

In many points of his character the margrave closely resembled the royal guardian under whom he had been educated. Like him he hated idleness, and was a terror to all loungers. One day he watched a lady sitting listlessly at her window. "Wait a moment," cried he; "if you don't know

what to do with yourself, I'll find you employment." He immediately sent her two large parcels of linen cloth, which she was obliged to make up into shirts for the cuirassiers. The clergy were especial objects of his ridicule and persecution. His cane was as much feared as that of his royal namesake. His justice was cruel, so that the king at length found himself under the necessity of interfering and taking the jurisdiction entirely out of his hands.

In 1760, when the Russians entered Schwedt for the third time, the margrave and his son-in-law duke Eugene of Wirtemberg, who had been wounded at the battle of Kunersdorf, fell into their hands through the treachery of a Jew. This fellow had the impudence to force himself along with the enemy into the cabinet of the margrave and to seize him by the arm, for which he shook him with the strength of a giant. The two princes ransomed themselves at Königsberg, in the New Mark. The margrave died in 1771.

The circumstances attending the marriage of the princess Ulrica with the heir to the throne of Sweden in 1744 have been already mentioned. The very rich trousseau of the bride was exhibited at the palace for three days, and the usual dowry of Prussian princesses, 100,000 dollars in new ducats, was delivered to Rudenskiöld, the Swedish ambassador. Frederick had not less esteem than affection for Ulrica. "A king," he wrote to Voltaire, "seeks her for his wife; the wishes of the whole Swedish

nation are in her favour; and my tenderness for her could not help yielding to this enthusiasm. She is going to a country where her talents are preparing for her a great and glorious part." The nuptial festivities took place at Schönhäusen; and this was the only occasion on which Frederick ever visited that country residence of his queen. Ulrica died queen of Sweden in 1782. The king was overwhelmed with grief at the tidings of her death, because the older he grew the more lonely he found himself. Menken, the cabinet secretary, who had then recently come from Stockholm, where he had officiated as secretary of legation, was required to tell the king all the particulars that he knew concerning her, and Frederick was frequently moved to tears during the relation.

Frederick had a very high opinion and was extremely proud of his family in general; and he dwelt with great complacency on the noble qualities of its members in his poems as well as in his historical works. "I was sure," he wrote to Voltaire in 1742, "that you would be pleased with my sister of Brunswick: she is endowed with that happy gift of Heaven, that spark of genius, that vivacity, in which she resembles you, and of which Nature has unfortunately been but sparing towards the majority of mankind." It was Leopold the son of this princess Charlotte of Brunswick, who, when commander of a regiment of infantry at Frankfurt, was drowned in 1785 in the Oder, in the generous

attempt to save the lives of several persons who were on the point of perishing.

Thus all the members of the royal family enjoyed the king's affectionate care and attention. But when in 1743 the empress of Russia and in 1746 the court of France solicited the hand of his only unmarried sister Amelia, the former for her nephew the grand-duke Peter, the latter for the dauphin, Frederick objected to so important a change of religion as would have been indispensable in either of those contingencies. He omitted not, however, the opportunities of manifesting his friendly sentiments towards both powers by proposing other matches. For the heir to the Russian throne he recommended the princess of Zerbst, afterwards the empress Catherine II., and for the dauphin the princess of Saxony.

On the margraves of the house of Brandenburg also Frederick kept a vigilant eye. In the day of peril the margrave Charles always proved himself a worthy grandson of the Great Elector, but he solicited in vain the rank of field-marshal, which, according to ancient custom, is not conferred on any prince of the blood.

In their households and establishments all the members of the royal family were obliged to be very economical. In these points the king himself was most exemplary. He expected his brothers, like all the servants of the state, to exert themselves to the utmost for the welfare of the country,

to require as little as possible for themselves, and to seek their true reward in the glory of Prussia. Recollecting his own youthful indiscretions, he renewed on two different occasions the general edict of 1730 against lending money to princes or princesses of the blood, threatening that the penalties decreed by that ordinance should inevitably be enforced.

In this early part of Frederick's reign, the cathedral church near the palace at Potsdam, which, in the four centuries since its erection, had undergone many vicissitudes, was taken down and rebuilt by Boumann, the same architect who completed the new palace of Sans-Souci. It was consecrated in September 1750. In the preceding January, the remains of the members of the reigning family were removed to this edifice, in the presence of the king. Frederick ordered the coffin of the Great Elector to be opened. He gazed for some time in silence on his face, the features of which were perfectly recognizable; tears trickled from his eyes, and, grasping the hand of his revered ancestor, he said enthusiastically to the persons present: "Gentlemen, this prince did great things!" In many passages of his works, as well poetical as historical, Frederick has shown how highly he appreciated the merits of his illustrious predecessor, and he every where holds forth his character as the most brilliant pattern for the princes of his house.

During his residence at Ruppin, Frederick had visited the field of Fehrbellin, a spot rendered

classic in Prussian history by the victory gained there over the Swedes by the Great Elector. Desirous to make himself acquainted with all the details of that memorable event, he took with him for his guide an aged inhabitant of Ruppin, who, when a young man, had taken part in that battle. Having finished his survey, the prince good-humouredly asked his cicerone if he could tell him what was the cause of that war. "Why yes," replied his old conductor: "the elector and the king of Sweden, when they were young, studied together at Utrecht, and they took a mighty dislike to one another, and so, you see, at last they could not help getting to loggerheads." In after life Frederick frequently adverted to this circumstance, and repeated this laconic explanation in the broad Low German dialect used by his informant.

I cannot part from the Great Elector without recording a trait which I have met with since the first chapter of this work was printed. When the crown of Poland was offered to him on condition that he should turn Catholic, he replied: "God forbid that I should deny my Saviour, give up the free word of God, and bow my head to the yoke of the pope! No; if ye were to offer me the crown of the mightiest empire in the world, I would not accept it at such a price."

The king's personal habits, during this period of his life, continued much the same as they had been ever since his accession to the throne. Every moment had its allotted occupation. "You are

right," he wrote to Jordan in 1742, "in supposing that I work hard; I do so in order to live, for nothing has more resemblance to death than idleness."—"Of what use is it to live," he writes on another occasion, "if one only vegetates!" and the cultivation of the mind he calls the greatest of pleasures.

In summer he rose at three, seldom after four; in winter an hour later; five or six hours' sleep sufficed him. A quarter of an hour before he was called, a fire was lighted in his bed-chamber, summer and winter. He put on his stockings, his breeches, always of black velvet, and his boots, which were never new, never blacked and often looked very foxy, sitting on the bed, and the rest of his clothes standing before the fire. To these belonged a morning coat, of some costly stuff, sometimes velvet, richly embroidered and usually of a light blue colour. These morning coats, like the worked fire-screens, were generally presents from the king's sisters and nieces. While his hair, which he wore in a queue, was dressing, he read the letters brought every evening by a jäger on horseback from Berlin, or divided them among his cabinet-secretaries to make extracts from them for him. It was not till then that he finished his morning toilet, washing his hands and face with a wet towel, and putting on the classic hat, which he never took off but at meals, or when speaking to persons of high rank, and which, even when new, had been rubbed so soft in the crown as to look like

an old one. Meanwhile the adjutants-general and the adjutant of the first battalion of the guard were in attendance in the ante-chamber, to receive his orders in regard to the army, and to make a report of the strangers who had departed or arrived. When these were dismissed, he drank several glasses of water, in later years mixed with distilled aniseed, ran over the Berlin report and the letters which he had reserved for his own perusal, took two or three cups of strong coffee, sometimes with, sometimes without milk. He then took up his flute and played pieces which he knew by heart, or more commonly extemporized, walking to and fro in his apartments for an hour or two; and, while thus practising, without thinking of what he was playing, his mind was frequently occupied with all sorts of business and conceived the happiest ideas.

Between nine and ten o'clock, the king received and read the extracts made by the three cabinet councillors, who were admitted singly, and to whom he dictated the answers to the letters received, which they wrote in pencil upon each letter. With two of his cabinet councillors the king transacted business every day; the third, to whose province belonged the foreign affairs and spiritual matters, came neither so often nor so early in the morning.

Though Frederick sometimes called the cabinet councillors his secretaries, yet all civil matters passed through their hands, and they were functionaries not less important in their line than the adjutant-general in the military-cabinet. Eichel,

who, with Lautensack and Schumacher, had served in the cabinet of Frederick William, enjoyed till his decease the unlimited confidence of his master. He must have been a man of rare qualifications, above all upright and indefatigable in business. The English ambassador, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, writes in one of his despatches to London in 1750 that Eichel lived like a prisoner of state, that he was always at his post, and had not half an hour to himself in the course of the year; so that he, the ambassador, had never seen him, and many persons who had long resided in Berlin were in the same predicament. Unmarried and having no relations, he seems to have been a promoter of the sciences, rendering eminent service to the Polytechnic School in Berlin by his intercession with the king, and bequeathing to the university of Halle a collection of coins. His fortune, which was considerable—for he was originally in good circumstances—he left to the daughter of the high chancellor von Jariges. It is impossible to give a more precise idea of the closeness of his connexion with the king than by saying that he was in all important matters to his master, both in peace and in the field, what Fredersdorf, who acted as secretary for all the domestic matters of the monarch, was in a narrower sphere. Generals and ministers courted his advice and his friendship. He died in 1768.

Galster, another of Frederick's privy councillors, was less fortunate. He had been private secretary to general Winterfeld, who in his will left

him a considerable legacy, and was taken into the service of the king during the seven years' war. He fell into disgrace in 1774, and was sent to Spandau: but impartial persons have never been able to discover in his conduct anything to justify the charges publicly circulated against him. His colleague Laspeyres, when directed by the king to prepare the order for his arrest, could not help sighing: "Poor Galster!" and this ejaculation is believed to have produced an impression upon the king. He had been imprisoned not quite a year, when his brother, minister of Alten Platow near Magdeburg, wrote to the king in his behalf, to this effect: "I am the brother of the unfortunate Galster, to whom I owe more than to my father. I have seven children living, with an income that is not sufficient to support them. In his prosperity my brother assisted me generously. I have now an opportunity to show my gratitude, as I have come into possession of some means. My brother is old, poor, and a prisoner. Be pleased to give me this wretched man, that I may share my home with him and take care of him like a brother." The king replied: "I set your brother at liberty and give him to you. As you say that he is poor, I have settled upon him a pension of five hundred dollars. But he must stay with you and in your parish, neither write to me, nor carry on any foreign correspondence. If he acts contrary to this, he shall go for life to Spandau."

Galster now devoted his leisure in rural retire-

ment to the sciences, cheered by the respect and sympathy of persons of the highest distinction; for instance, Zedlitz, the minister. Conscious of having performed with unimpeachable integrity the duties of his office, he instituted, in 1788, judicial proceedings against the consistorial councillor Büsching, for defamatory expressions in his Characteristic of Frederick the Great. Büsching was sentenced to make the *amende honorable,* to suppress the offensive passages, and to pay all costs of suit. Galster died in the summer of 1800.

Stellter, privy councillor of accounts, whom the king selected to succeed Galster, in 1775, hoping to get excused, said that he was unacquainted with French, and that he was married. "You must not tell your wife everything," replied the king; and Stellter undertook the arduous duty, which was the more trying, as all the cabinet councillors were obliged to attend very early every morning in full dress, and to go through their business standing. Stellter died literally at his post, quite suddenly, on the 29th of May, 1785, just as he had reached Sans-Souci to perform his functions. When the king was apprized of the circumstance, he exclaimed with deep emotion: "Happy he!—But business cannot stand still; send Beyer to me."

During the morning, the king refreshed himself with cherries, figs, grapes, and other fine fruit, which were placed on the pier-tables in his apartments, and of which he was exceedingly fond. To this end, he not only had hot-houses in which

the rarest and most delicate sorts of fruit were raised, but early productions of this kind were sent to him frequently from a great distance. The earliest cherries in December, and till the middle of January, he paid for at the rate of two dollars apiece.

When the cabinet councillors were despatched, the king threw off his morning coat, smoothed his hair with pomatum, had it powdered, washed his face and hands with a towel, and put on his uniform. This business occupied no more than five minutes, when he was not shaved. Even in the early part of his reign, his dress was plain and simple: it was only on occasions of ceremony, or when he was visited by foreigners of rank, that he dressed with a certain degree of elegance, which, as he grew older, gave way more and more to convenience. At ten o'clock, he gave the parole to the commandant, then answered family letters, spoke to persons whom he had appointed to call upon him, read aloud, practised concertos if he had time, sometimes went to the Parade, took a ride or a walk.

At twelve precisely he sat down to dinner, or even a quarter of an hour earlier when he expected some favourite dish, or the bill of fare promised him some rarity: but if he had guests of high distinction, or dined with the queen, one o'clock was the hour. The king's two pages, who, the moment he quitted his bedchamber, were about his person, and even on grand occasions supplied the place of the high officers of the court, waited exclusively upon

him during dinner. The repast consisted of eight dishes, for Frederick was accustomed to say, that whoever was not satisfied with eight would not be content with eighty. These were served in two courses; and there was no other dessert but fruit, according to the season. The table-service was fine porcelain. The dinner-party consisted generally of from seven to ten persons, who could eat of what dishes they pleased, and drink as much Moselle wine or Pontac as they thought proper. The king himself usually drank Bergerac, a light French wine, mixed with water, or Moselle wine, and sometimes Champagne or Tokay, but these last were brought only when expressly ordered by his majesty. He disliked Rhenish wine, and said that if a man wished to have a foretaste of hanging he need only drink that wine. The gout, which he inherited from his father, he attributed to his practice of drinking Rhenish wine. The king was not an immoderate eater, but he was fond of high-seasoned French and Italian dishes: polenta,—a greasy and very indigestible dish, composed of cheese and maize-flour —cakes, pasties, ham, pickled cabbage, greens; and he frequently suffered from indigestion and cramp in the stomach.

According to the business that awaited him, the king passed a longer or shorter time at table. He frequently rose from it at one o'clock, and frequently too, especially when the conversation interested him, he would remain till four, or even later. At table, Frederick was a most amiable host. His

friends forgot that they were the guests of a king, for his example encouraged the most unreserved interchange of ideas. The king himself spoke a great deal, and no department of human knowledge was excluded from the conversation: philosophy, politics, religion, history, the art of war, literature, furnished by turns subjects for discussion. Anecdotes, epigrams, and witty sallies, seasoned the repast. When the party sat long, the effect of the wine upon the king manifested itself in more unrestrained freedom of remark; his sarcasms were liberally dealt forth, and his companions were not always sure to escape the lash. He was fond of apt and witty repartees, and every one might defend himself without fear, as well as he could. The conversation was carried on in French, and the company was in general so chosen, that not only could all take part in it, but that they could profit by the intellectual wealth of each. Concerning these parties, Bielefeld says: "Great as is the honour, still greater is the pleasure, of listening to the conversation of the king and the accomplished persons who constitute his society. I do not think that a circle of sounder heads is to be found in all Europe than at this table. Here Frederick wholly lays aside the monarch; and we all drop the veil with which courtiers in general cover themselves in the presence of the sovereign. Hearts reciprocally open to one another, and the mind is not bound by any shackles."—The prince de Ligne describes these conversations, at a later period it is true, in the fol-

lowing terms: "At Potsdam I was delighted for five hours every day by the encyclopedic conversation of the incomparable Frederick, who completely won my heart. All that he said was witty, piquant, interesting. At the same time, the tone of his voice was soft and rather low, and his lips moved with inexpressible grace. His eyes, which in all the portraits we have of him are represented too stern, and which were somewhat distended with close attention to cabinet business and the laborious duties of war, assumed a mild and gentle look whenever he related or heard others relate traits of magnanimity or philanthropy."

The pleasures of the table, the only luxury in which the king indulged, were not so costly as might be imagined; for 12,000 dollars, fixed for the expense of his kitchen, continued to be the allowance as long as he lived. Out of this sum were to be provided eight dishes for the king's table and the same number for that of the marshals, three at dinner and supper for ten or twelve servants, and cold meat for three or four dogs. As, in the course of years, there was a considerable advance in the price of provisions, the sum allowed was sometimes found insufficient; the king would grumble on such occasions, but in the end he always paid the deficiency. When foreigners of high rank or relatives came to visit him, twelve, twenty, or even thirty dishes were given, and paid for separately. In the earlier years of his reign the king was not so particular about occasionally incurring extra expense.

Thus he wrote one day to Fredersdorf: "You will scold I fear, for we ate yesterday 180 dollars' worth of cherries; I shall get myself a bad character."

After dinner, the king again took up his flute for half an hour, by which time the cabinet councillors had answered the letters and sent them for his signature. But these answers were not merely signed by him: it is well known that he always read them over, frequently corrected words and expressions, rejected many when the writer had misconceived his meaning or spirit, and still more frequently annexed some strong characteristic marginal remark, sometimes breathing kindness and the cheerful humour of the moment, at others anger and indignation. These celebrated marginal notes, so entertaining to those not interested in them, cannot have been particularly flattering to the reprimanded receivers; and ministers, the most distinguished generals, and even princes of the blood, were alike exposed to these shafts. All petitions addressed to the king were answered on the same day. Sentences of death alone were deferred: to these the king turned with great reluctance, and he never signed them before the second day. The answers to petitions were in French or German, according to the language employed by the petitioners. German was the language of service: hence German orders and French letters of friendship addressed to one and the same person produce a totally different impression, and furnish occasion for the remark that Frederick, much as he delighted

to recreate himself after the fatigues of business in a congenial circle, yet as king invariably placed duty above virtue and the officer above the man.

The duties of the day as sovereign being finished, Frederick devoted an hour or two to study and literary occupations. During the period of which I am more particularly treating, he produced in these short intervals the "History of my Time," a worthy monument alike of the glory of his army and his own cool impartiality, which, to say nothing of the elegance of the diction, give it a permanent value as an historical work; the "Memoirs of the History of the House of Brandenburg," in which, while duly appreciating the characters of his predecessors, he indicates the lofty goal which he had proposed to himself as sovereign. All his Eloges, excepting those on prince Henry and Voltaire, belong to the interval between 1745 and 1758; and his extensive correspondence with the most eminent of the writers of France constituted no small portion of his literary occupation. In 1750 he had printed for his most intimate friends a collection of his poems, with the general title of "Works of the Philosopher of Sans-Souci," of which he expresses a very modest opinion in a letter to Algarotti in 1753, and which have not escaped the severity of criticism, especially from the ungrateful Voltaire. These compositions, nevertheless, display fertility of mind, good taste, richness of imagery, facility of diction, and above all true and profound feeling, in a higher degree than any of his other works, his

familiar letters only excepted. To these must be added the essays and papers written to promote the welfare of civil society and to improve the military. All the performances here enumerated, which surpass in number, extent, and diversity of subject those of many writers by profession, were produced between the hours of four and six, for at six the concert usually commenced.

These concerts were generally arranged by Quantz, with the assistance of Benda, Graun, Emanuel Bach and Fasch. Quantz, as we have seen, had been Frederick's instructor upon the flute while prince-royal. At that time he belonged to the band of the king of Poland, and received a salary of 250 dollars. On Frederick's accession to the throne, Quantz removed to Berlin; the king gave him a salary of 2000 dollars, paid him a certain sum for each of the concertos, amounting to three hundred, that he composed for him, and one hundred ducats for every new flute: for Quantz manufactured that instrument for sale and made some improvements in its construction. He is described as tall and stout in person, grave in disposition and rough in manners. He played the tyrant over the king; but Fortune avenged Frederick, by making Quantz the slave of his wife, as she was of her lap-dog. This circumstance led C. P. E. Bach one day, in a party of musical friends, to propose this riddle: "What is the most powerful animal in the Prussian dominions?" As nobody could resolve it, Bach said: "This formidable creature is Madame

Quantz's lapdog. Such is its power that Madame Quantz herself is afraid of it; Quantz is afraid of Madame Quantz; and Frederick, the greatest monarch in the world, is afraid of Quantz." The king laughed heartily when he heard this anecdote.

One day the king desired Quantz to let him have a new flute. The latter made excuses from time to time for not delivering it, alleging that it was very troublesome to make and that he wished to furnish a capital instrument. At last he took the flute to the king, assured him that it was perfect in every respect, but, as it had been just oiled, he made him promise not to use it for some time. Next evening, however, Frederick was tempted to try the new instrument at his private concert. He placed himself before the desk, with his left knee, according to custom, resting upon a chair. With both hands he raised the flute to his lips, when, suddenly recollecting the injunction of his master, he laid down the instrument, saying: "Quantz will be angry if I play upon that; I promised I would not, and I must keep my word." The flute lay beside the king. While playing upon the other, he accidentally touched the new one, which fell upon the floor with such violence that the middle piece was cracked. "What will Quantz say now?" he exclaimed in evident agitation: "he will be doubly angry, and conceive that I was playing on it in defiance of his prohibition. If I assure him of the contrary he will not believe me. What is to be done!" After a moment's reflection, he sat down,

and drew up a statement of the whole affair, to which he got all the performers present to sign their names as witnesses. This he sent with the flute to Quantz, who contrived to repair the injury.

Quantz died in 1773 at Potsdam in the full possession of the royal favour, and the king erected a monument for him in the churchyard outside the Nauer-gate.

Graun, who had belonged to Frederick's musical establishment at Rheinsberg, was appointed capell-meister after his accession to the throne, and sent to Italy to engage vocal performers for the opera-house established by the king. On his return his salary was considerably augmented, and, till his death in 1759, he continued to compose for the church and theatre. His works are very numerous, and among them upwards of thirty operas. The music to Ramler's Passion oratorio, "The Death of Jesus," is universally considered as his master-piece: the recitative and chorusses are remarkably beautiful.

Graun, like Quantz, was by no means disposed to submit at all times to the humours of his royal patron. One day he was ordered by the latter to make arrangements for the immediate rehearsal of one of his new operas, because the king could not attend the general rehearsal, which was to take place in a few days. The rehearsal commenced. Frederick, in an ill humour, called for the score and struck out several pages. Graun waited calmly till he had finished. "All that I have struck out,"

said the king, "must be altered: it is not worthy of you, and does not please me."—"I am very sorry for that," replied the capellmeister; "but I shall not alter a note, for the general rehearsal is to be the day after to-morrow, and there is no time to study anything new: besides, I have a still more weighty reason which your majesty shall hear when you are more graciously disposed."—"Graun, I am not ungracious to you; I never was; so tell me your reason at once."—"Well then," rejoined the composer, putting the score into his pocket, "*I* am king of that."—"You are right;" said Frederick smiling; "let everything remain as it is."

On the king's return to Berlin from one of his visits to Silesia, the first thing he did was to send for his capellmeister. "Graun," said he, "play me the commencement of the first recitative in The Death of Jesus." Graun obeyed. "Exactly so! exactly so!" exclaimed Frederick, "I thought I could not be mistaken. I will tell you something. When I was at Breslau, I heard an evening hymn, every verse of which begins just like your recitative." The king repeated the first line of the hymn. "There" he continued, "you see I have caught you in a musical theft. But, never mind; it does you honour to have hit upon the same idea as the pious composer of the hymn." Graun could not forget this charge. He sent to Silesia for the tune of the hymn which he had never heard of, and found that the king's ear was perfectly correct. When Quantz asked him if he would not alter the

passage, he exclaimed: "God forbid! It is to me the dearest proof of the memory and approbation of my sovereign."

Graun's last work was a Te Deum on occasion of the battle of Prague. So affectionately was he attached to his royal patron, that he died of grief on hearing of the unfortunate issue of the battle of Züllichau; and Frederick, on his part, was affected to tears when he received intelligence of the decease of his capellmeister. For some time he was absorbed in meditation: shaking his head, he then exclaimed: "Another severe loss! My first field-marshal before Prague!—now my Graun! Great is great in every line. I will not make another field-marshal or another capellmeister, till I find another Schwerin and another Graun."

The king entered the music-room with the notes under his arm, distributed the parts, and laid them himself upon the desks. He extemporised for a quarter of an hour before the concert began, played three or four concertos composed for him by Quantz, or solos of his own composition. His adagio was exquisite, but his allegro rather tame, in long and difficult passages. Fasch frequently observed that of all the performers he ever heard, his friend Bach, Benda, and the king produced the most pathetic adagio. One evening Frederick had introduced into the adagio a piece of recitative, which he performed very feelingly. Such was its effect upon Fasch that he accompanied the king with peculiar pathos, and pleased Frederick much.

When the piece was finished, he asked Fasch what he thought of playing a recitative on an instrument. Fasch replied that, by right, recitative without words was not admissible; but that when, as in this case, it was connected with a rhythmical idea, which had a previously known import, it might be effective; and that his majesty had by his performance so eloquently expressed the language of supplication, that he could fancy he saw the petitioner standing before him. "Right!" rejoined the king. "Quantz's recitative sounds not much better than if the gamut were ground in a mill: in that passage, I figured to myself the mother of Coriolanus on her knees before her son, imploring mercy and peace for the city of Rome."

None of the performers excepting Quantz took the liberty of crying "Bravo!" to the king. One day, when he was in a remarkably good humour, he told Fasch not to be afraid to express his opinion when he had acquitted himself well; from that time Fasch accordingly did so, but never when Quantz was present.

Among the performers at the king's concerts may be included Fredersdorf who was for many years his confidential valet. He was the son of the town-musician at Garz, and as a musqueteer in the regiment of Schwerin, quartered at Frankfurt on the Oder, was employed by the city-musician of that place. Frederick, when prince-royal, having once passed through the city, the students gave him a musical serenade, at which Fredersdorf played the

flute. He attracted the notice of Frederick who sent for him, and, being pleased with him, he made him his lacquey, and afterwards his valet de chambre. He was a tall, handsome fellow; clever and cunning, he contrived to gain great influence over his master and to make his own fortune. In the year 1750, the king permitted him to visit France. On his return, he married a daughter of Daum's, the wealthy banker. At last he turned alchymist, built a large laboratory, and, in partnership with one Düsterhaupt, assiduously cultivated the art of making gold. His death took place in 1758.

So long as Quantz lived and the king had all his front teeth, he had a concert regularly every evening, whether at home or with the army: but in his journeys to hold reviews he was not accompanied by musicians or any other attendants. It was very rarely the case that any but musical performers were admitted to his concerts. It may be mentioned as a particular circumstance that at the visit paid to the king in Potsdam by Marie Antonie, dowager electress of Saxony, daughter of the emperor Charles VII., in honour of whom Frederick wrote a prologue for the occasion, in September 1770, he gave a concert, at which that princess, who was an exquisite performer, played the harpsichord and sang, while the king, accompanied by Quantz, played first flute, the duke of Brunswick first violin, and the prince of Prussia the violoncello.

The king's concerts generally lasted about an

hour, and then supper, which, till the seven years' war, constituted an important item in the routine of the day, collected around him those with whom he was in the habit of associating on the most familiar terms. In their society Frederick entirely divested himself of the pomp and parade of royalty; and at these Socratic suppers, as Voltaire called them, which, according to the descriptions of those who were fortunate enough to be of the party, must have been truly delightful, the conversation was sometimes prolonged till past midnight.

The king undressed before the fire, almost without assistance, dismissed his attendants with directions to wake him in the morning, and, being left entirely alone and without light, in general soon fell asleep. Two lacqueys sat up in the ante-room, and the king rang if he wanted a glass of water or anything else. The portrait of Gustavus Adolphus was the only picture in Frederick's bed-chamber at Sans-Souci.

In summer he took more exercise. He then went earlier to bed and rose earlier and earlier in spring as the days lengthened, so that at the time of the Berlin review, at the end of April or the beginning of May, he was frequently up by half past three and on horseback by four. On such mornings the flute was neglected, the letters were merely read and not answered till after the inspection of the troops. The activity of Frederick in the best years of his life is almost incredible: though fond of pleasure, and especially of the supper-table, yet, let him leave it ever so late, he was sure to be

up early in the morning, attending with the utmost cheerfulness to the duties of his station.

In March, when the weather was fine, he frequently took a ride in the forenoon from ten to eleven. About the end of that month or the beginning of April, he left Potsdam for Sans-Souci, attending the exercises of the garrison three times a week and commanding himself. On the other days he generally rode out for an hour before dinner, always on the trot or gallop. He would frequently ride also to Charlottenburg and Berlin, without using the carriage which followed him. In marches he was always on horseback, unless when the cold was very severe, and then he walked. At Sans-Souci he rode every day, and walked in the garden; but, whether on horseback or on foot, he always carried a crutch-stick, a Spanish cane, with a blue enamelled gold crutch set with brilliants.

The summer months the king devoted chiefly to the reviewing of the troops, not only at Berlin and Potsdam, but in the different provinces of his dominions. These annual journeys were not confined to that single object. On such occasions, all the civil officers, from highest to lowest, were expected to be in readiness to furnish the minutest details relative to the departments of the administration in which they were employed. Frederick liked also to see about him tradesmen and men in every line of business, from whose practical information useful hints might frequently be derived. The objects of these tours are best described by himself in a letter to

Voltaire: "I strive," says he, "to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak in my country, and sometimes to mitigate sentences which seem to me too severe. This is partly my occupation when I travel through the provinces; every one has access to me; all complaints are investigated either by myself or others; and thus I have opportunities of rendering services to persons of whose very existence I was ignorant till I received their petitions. This supervision makes the judges attentive, and prevents cruel and too rigorous proceedings."

All the time occupied by these tours in the provinces Frederick devoted so exclusively to business, that while engaged in them he would never so much as write a letter to a friend; he read in his carriage, and when the jolting of the vehicle, owing to the bad state of the roads, was too violent for that, he learned by heart, after he was sixty, the finest passages in the poets.

Early in September the king was back in Potsdam, and in that month were held the autumnal manœuvres, which, in process of time, became so celebrated, as to attract military and other foreigners of distinction from every country in Europe. The palace at Potsdam was his winter residence: but he spent the carnival, from the middle of December till the end of January, in Berlin. The anniversary of the coronation of Frederick I. was celebrated with the greatest pomp: the court dined off the service of gold plate, and the queen and the princesses wore the splendid dresses which the king

always presented to them as a new-year's gift. During the carnival, frequent drawing-rooms were held by the king, the queen, and the queen-dowager; and there were fixed days every week for masquerades, balls, operas, concerts, and other diversions. One year, in the time of the carnival, the palace was set on fire by lightning. The hussar in waiting rushed into the king's cabinet. "Your majesty," said he, "the lightning has struck the palace, and it is on fire!" "Go," replied Frederick, coolly, "and keep the staircase clear; I have something to do yet."

In his earlier years, even after he ascended the throne, the king frequently dressed with great elegance in the latest French fashion. Down to the year 1750, he wore gala dresses of gold and silver stuff, with diamond buttons, shoes, and silk stockings. In ordinary life, though he wore on his left hand two very beautiful diamond rings, and on the right a large Silesian chrysopras, he despised splendour in dress. He constantly wore the uniform of the life-guard battalion, at first with rich silver lace, afterwards without, and his hat also without lace, or any other decoration but a fine white ostrich feather. His coat was often patched, and looked very shabby. He always wore the star of the order of the Black Eagle. To dressing-gown, slippers, and other such-like conveniences, he was an utter stranger. He was never particularly attentive to cleanliness, and neglected it as well as his whole appearance when he grew old. But the simpler his

own apparel, the richer was that of his domestics. In early life he kept six running footmen, who preceded him when he drove out in Berlin, but in more advanced life he frequently rode out attended by a single groom.

The principal amusement of Frederick's leisure hours at all periods of his life was his library. The plan for his reading in general, which he adopted in his youth, and to which he constantly adhered, was this. He divided all books that he chose to read into two classes,—those for study, and those for amusement. The second class, by far the more numerous of the two, comprehended all the works which he wished to know something of, and which he merely skimmed, or read once through. The first consisted of those which he meant to study, to read over again, or to consult as long as he lived: these he took up continually, one after another, in the order in which he had ranged them, unless upon occasions when he only wanted to verify, to quote, or to imitate some passage. He had five libraries absolutely alike, and composed of the same books,—at Potsdam, at old Sans-Souci, at Berlin, at Charlottenburg, and at Breslau. When he removed from one of these residences to another, he had only to note how far he had got in a book, and on his arrival he could proceed as though he were on the same spot. Hence he always bought five copies of every book that he wished to have. To the five libraries above-mentioned were afterwards added another in the new palace of Sans-

Souci, and a travelling library for the review-time. The books belonging to all these libraries were uniformly bound in red morocco with gilt leaves. Each book had its particular place, and on the cover was a letter denoting the library to which it belonged: those at Potsdam, whither the Rheinsberg library was removed in 1747, were marked with P.; those at old Sans-Souci, originally called Vigne (Vineyard), with V.; and those in the new palace there with S.

The first class of books, forming his chosen phalanx, were to be seen in the first rank: Homer, Xenophon, Plato, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Æschines, Isocrates, Thucydides, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch; then came Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Sallust, Cæsar, Livy, Tacitus, and the philosophic works of Seneca; and lastly, there were Corneille, Racine, Molière, Bossuet, Massillon, Flechier, Saurin, the Telemachus, d'Aguesseau, Montesquieu, Maltby, and Bayle, besides the most important French historical works. To these were added the works of Voltaire as they were successively published.

The ancient authors in this list were only the most esteemed French translations. Frederick knew very little of Latin, and not a word of Greek. During the seven years' war, while he occupied Saxony, and was in winter-quarters at Leipzig, he visited some of the most eminent literati of that city, and among the rest Professor Ernesti. Frederick's conversation with him turned only upon

Cicero and the ancient languages. When taking his leave, he exclaimed in retiring:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas!

"Good God," cried the veteran scholar, "had I but known that he could talk Latin, I should have felt much more at my ease."

The French translations of the classic authors were at that time in general too defective to satisfy a man of taste, and the king was often out of humour with them. Thiébault tells us, that he drew up a list of such as he most wished to see better executed, and ordered Dekker, the bookseller, to consult several of the French members of the Academy as to the probable expence. It was calculated that the whole might amount to about sixty duodecimo volumes, and cost from sixty to seventy thousand livres, including the labour of translation, which was calculated at about half that sum. This estimate was sent to the king, who desired that nothing should be done till further orders; and here the matter dropped for ever.

Next to the library, the king derived great pleasure from the sculpture-gallery at Sans-Souci, and was fond of conversing with the two inspectors on the beauties of art. In the gallery, as well as in his walks, three or four Italian greyhounds were his invariable companions. The king's attachment to dogs, which was one of his earliest passions, continued unabated till the end of his life. He had always one especial favourite, which lay on a chair

beside its master, and even slept in his bed; the others were sent out of the room in the evening, and not admitted again till morning, after the king had risen. His apartments were strewed with leathern balls, with which these dogs amused themselves; and being all much indulged they would lie on the most costly sophas and chairs, tear the damask covers, and gnaw and injure the furniture. This he permitted without rebuke, merely observing: "My dogs destroy my chairs; but how can I help it! If I were to have them mended to-day, they would be as bad again to-morrow; so, I suppose, I must even put up with the inconvenience. After all, a marquise de Pompadour would cost me a great deal more, and would not be either so fond or so faithful."

One of the lacqueys had the office of feeding and attending to these four-footed favourites, who were taken out regularly on fine days for a run in the garden and in bad weather in a spacious hall. At the carnival they were conveyed to Berlin in a coach and six, their attendant turning his back to the horses, while the other seat was reserved for the dogs. We have seen that, during the second Silesian war, Frederick was accompanied by one of his dogs named Biche, who was a particular favourite for her attachment and sagacity, and that at the battle of Sorr, she fell into the hands of the Austrians, together with the whole of the king's baggage. On another occasion during that war, the king had advanced unattended except by Biche

to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, when he perceived a party of Austrian Pandours approaching. He had but just time to hide himself beneath a bridge over which they would have to pass. He was afraid lest Biche might bark at the tramp of the horses' feet over head and thus betray him; but the dog, though generally noisy, continued perfectly quiet in the arms of the king, till the Pandours had passed and were at a distance. Frederick quitted his hiding-place and presently met General Rothenburg. Calling Biche, who came capering and leaping up at him, he said to the general: "I must present to you one of the most faithful of my friends; I mean Biche." Alcmene, another especial favourite, died at Sans-Souci while he was in Silesia. When the tidings reached him, he ordered her body to be put into a coffin and placed in his library. On his return, he gazed long in silent sorrow upon the almost putrid remains of his favourite, and then ordered her to be buried. It was respecting these two dogs that the king once wrote to Fredersdorf as follows: "Poor Biche could not possibly recover, because she had ten doctors about her; Mene shall not take anything but skimmed milk, and not a doctor of them all shall touch her."

One day, when he had ordered a dish of roasted partridges to be given to his dogs, Diane, a young favourite, seized one of them, leaped upon the king's writing table, and laid the bird down while she ate it upon a letter, couched in very gracious terms, which the king had just written to provincial

councillor Hübner, at Stettin. Frederick laughed on seeing the greasy letter. "Thou remindest me," said he to Diane, "that I must add a slice of fat to my lean words." Accordingly, he enclosed with it one hundred frederics-d'or, and added a postscript, accounting for the state of the letter and the motive of the present.

Great was the grief of the king at the loss of these faithful creatures, to whom he allotted a burial-place near the spot which he selected for his own, on the uppermost terrace of Sans-Souci. There the traveller may still see the flat stones, with the names of the dogs interred beneath engraved upon them: Alcmene (1), Thisbe (1), Diane (1), Phillis, Thisbe (2) Alcmene (2) Biche, Diane (2), Pax, Superbe, and Amourette. It is well known that the late duchess of York, Frederick's great-niece, during her residence at Oatlands, showed the like fondness for dogs, and buried her favourites in the same manner. It is not unlikely that the example of her illustrious relative may have influenced this predilection of that princess.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Frederick's pressing Invitation to Voltaire.—Baculard d'Arnaud.—Voltaire removes to Prussia.—His Occupations.—Origin of the Misunderstandings between him and the King.—His Lawsuit with Hirsch, the Jew.—His quarrels with d'Argens, d'Arnaud, and Maupertuis.—His Satirical Publication against the latter.—Anger of Frederick.—Disrespect shown by Voltaire.—His Libel on Maupertuis publicly burnt.—His submissions to the King.—His Departure from Berlin.—His revengeful Spirit.—He is arrested at Frankfurt.—His own account of what befel him there.—Chevalier Masson.—Baron Trenck; his confinement at Glatz and Magdeburg.—The King takes a Journey to East Friesland and Holland.—Anecdotes of this Journey.—Colonel Balbi.

The admiration which Frederick early conceived for Voltaire's character as an author had produced many flattering invitations to settle in Berlin. These, however, Voltaire declined, on account of his attachment to the marquise du Châtelet, a woman of talent, science, and considerable beauty, but licentious in manners, habits, and conversation. Though aware of her connexion with St. Lambert, Voltaire continued her slave till her death in 1749. Personal acquaintance, during his two visits to Berlin in 1740 and 1743, had indeed opened the eyes of the king to his real character; and literary squabbles, hateful intrigues, and unguarded sarcasms against several of Frederick's friends had caused him to express this severe opinion in a letter addressed to Algarotti in Sep-

tember 1749, the precise occasion of which I am unable to specify: "Voltaire has played a trick that is unworthy of him. He deserves to be branded on Parnassus. It is a pity that so base a soul should be combined with so admirable a genius. I shall, however, take no notice; for I have need of him for the study of the French language. I wish to learn his French—what need I care about his morals!"

Just about this time the virulence of a party in Paris, encouraged by the marquise de Pompadour, mistress of Louis XV., to raise the fame of Crebillon as a dramatist at the expence of Voltaire, caused the latter to desire a change of scene. He therefore intimated to the Prussian monarch, from whom he had in vain solicited some honorary distinction, that he was willing to come to Berlin on certain conditions. Frederick replied: "You are like the white elephant, on account of which the Great Mogul and the shah of Persia go to war, and the possession of which gives to him who has been fortunate enough to gain it a new title*. If you come hither, you shall stand at the head of mine, 'Frederick by the grace of God king of Prussia, elector of Brandenburg, possessor of Voltaire,' &c." He promised him at the same time 2000 dollars for

* Frederick is under a slight mistake in this allusion: the story is related of the kings of Siam and Pegu, the latter of whom carried off the rare animal by force of arms and assumed the title of "Lord of the White Elephant," which is retained to this day by the monarch of Burma, whose dominions include what was formerly the kingdom of Pegu.

travelling expences. It is doubtful, however, whether this flattery and these offers would have induced Voltaire to leave the delights of Paris, had not a circumstance occurred to pique his inordinate vanity.

Baculard d'Arnaud, a young man of some poetic talent, whom Voltaire had patronised and recommended to the notice of the king of Prussia, addressed to his majesty some complimentary verses, which Frederick answered also in verse, in a tone of highly exaggerated praise. This reply contained an invitation to Berlin, in consequence of which d'Arnaud went thither in April 1750, and concluded with an allusion to Voltaire in the following lines:

Déjà, sans être téméraire,
Prenant votre vol jusqu'aux cieux,
Vous pouvez égaler Voltaire,
Et, près de Virgile et d'Homère,
Jouir de vos succès heureux.

Déjà l'Apollon de la France
S'achemine à sa décadence;
Venez briller à votre tour;
Elevez-vous s'il brille encore,
Ainsi le couchant d'un beau jour
Promet une plus belle Aurore!

These verses were forwarded to Thiriot, the king's literary correspondent in Paris, and by him shown to Voltaire, who was in bed when he read them. "*L'aurore de d'Arnaud!*" he cried in a fury, darting out of bed, with nothing but his shirt on, "*Voltaire à son couchant!* Let Frederick mind

governing and not pass opinions on me! I will go —ay that I will—and teach this king *que je ne me couche pas encore!*" Not long after this scene, he actually set out on his journey for Prussia, and arrived at Potsdam on the 10th of July 1750.

His reception was as favourable as he could desire and he furnishes himself the following picture of his situation at Potsdam: "To be lodged in the apartments which had been occupied by the marshal de Saxe, to have at my disposal the king's cooks when I chose to dine in my own room, and his coachmen and horses when I wished to drive out, were the least of the favours conferred upon me. The king's suppers were delightful. Perhaps I may be mistaken, but to me it seems that a great deal of cleverness was displayed at them. The king himself possessed much talent for conversation, and caused others to have it: and the most extraordinary thing was that I have never known suppers, at which such freedom prevailed. I worked two hours a day with the king and corrected his compositions, never failing to praise what was good and to alter what was bad in them . . . . I had no court, no visits, to pay to any one, no duties to fulfil: my life was entirely free and I cannot conceive any thing more agreeable than this sort of existence."

Condorcet tells us that Voltaire was on an equally agreeable footing with the other branches of the royal family, that he wrote verses for the princesses, performed in tragedies with them and their brothers, gave them lessons in declamation, and

thus taught them to appreciate more highly the beauties of French poetry.

Voltaire would have the world believe that the king, though he employed him to correct his poetry, really considered it as far superior to Voltaire's. This is a self-evident absurdity: for the king would not in that case have submitted with patience to his numerous alterations and the unsparing remarks with which they were frequently accompanied. In the library of Sans-Souci there is still a copy of the king's miscellaneous poems in three quarto volumes, the second and third of which have the margin covered with Voltaire's manuscript corrections. One of these may convey an idea of the rest. In one of the Epitres familiers the word *plats* occurs several times in the course of a few lines. Voltaire has underlined it, and written in the margin—"Plats —plats—plats—voilà assez de plats pour un bon souper!" Warm praise of the royal author occasionally compensates for the freedom of such remarks. To one of Frederick's letters in the same book, are subjoined these words in Voltaire's handwriting: "Que d'esprit, de grâces, d'imagination! Qu'il est doux de vivre aux pieds d'un tel homme!"

Frederick was desirous to secure the celebrated poet for his guest during the remainder of his life, and Voltaire, with that selfishness which was so prominent a feature in his character, was equally desirous to drive as hard a bargain as he could with his royal patron. He evaded giving any decided answer to his solicitations. After some time he

handed to the king a letter written, probably at his own suggestion, or perhaps dictation, by his niece, Madame Denis in Paris, strongly urging him not to enter into the service of the king of Prussia. To the arguments there employed the king returned this answer:—"I have read the letter which your niece has written to you from Paris. The affection she has for you ensures to her my esteem. If I were Madame Denis I should think as she does; but, being what I am, I must hold a different opinion. I should be extremely sorry to be the cause of misery even to an enemy: judge then if I could consent to be the cause of injury to one whom I esteem, whom I love, who sacrifices to me his country and all that human nature holds most dear. No, my dear Voltaire, if I could foresee that your change of country would turn ever so little to your disadvantage, I should be the first person to dissuade you from it. Yes, I should prefer your happiness even to the extreme pleasure which I derive from your society. . . . I respect you as my master in eloquence and knowledge; I love you as a virtuous friend. What slavery, what change, what inconstancy of fortune, are to be feared by you in a country where you are esteemed as much as in your own, and where you live with a grateful friend! I have not the foolish presumption to believe that Berlin is equal to Paris. I admit that of all places in the world Paris is that where good taste is most generally diffused. But do you not carry this good taste with you wherever you go? We have powers

sufficient to applaud you, and in affection for you, we will not yield to any place. I respected the friendship which united you to Madame du Châtelet, but after her I am one of your oldest friends. What! because you take up your abode in my house, shall that house be called your prison? Because I am your friend, must I therefore be your tyrant? This reasoning, I must confess, I do not understand. On the contrary, I am firmly convinced that you may be very happy here as long as I live; that you will always be considered the father of literature and good taste, and that you will ever derive from me all the comforts which a man of your merit can expect from one who esteems him. Good night."

"This," observes Voltaire, "was a letter such as few majesties write." He sent it immediately to his niece, to whom he wrote at the same time: "Preserve carefully, my dear, this precious record. Few families will ever have so singular a document in their archives." This letter was, to use Voltaire's own expression, "the last glass which intoxicated him." Frederick undertook to obtain the permission of the king of France for Voltaire to settle for good at Potsdam, which was immediately granted, and he gave his friend the cross of Merit, a chamberlain's key, a salary of 20,000 livres per annum, and settled an annuity for life of 4000 on his niece Madame Denis.

It was in the early part of Voltaire's residence at the Prussian court, while all were fascinated by

his genius, that there chanced to be at Potsdam an Englishman who excited astonishment by his memory, which was so extraordinary that he could remember and repeat word for word any piece, though of considerable length, which was read or recited before him. The king sent for this man, put him to the test, and was amazed at his talent. Immediately afterwards, Voltaire sent word to Frederick that he wished to have the honour to read to him one of his new poems. The king assented, but determined to have some fun with him. He directed the Englishman to place himself behind a screen, and to pay particular attention to what Voltaire was going to read. Voltaire came and read his poem with the utmost pathos, but it seemed to make no impression whatever on the king. When he had finished, the author asked his opinion of it. Frederick replied he had lately remarked that Voltaire had for some time past been stealing the works of others and giving them out for his own; and that he was not best pleased with this conduct which he had not expected of him. Voltaire was thunderstruck at this reproof: he declared by all that was sacred that it was undeserved. "Nay," said the king, "I will convict you at once: the verses which you have just read are by an Englishman." Voltaire vindicated himself with still greater vehemence, and swore that the composition which he had read was his own. "Come forward then," said the king, turning towards the screen, "and recite the verses which M. de Voltaire pretends to

have made." The Englishman gravely stepped forward, and repeated Voltaire's poem without the slightest mistake. "Now," said the king to Voltaire, "am I wrong?"—"O Heaven!" exclaimed the enraged poet, "hast thou no lightnings left to blast the villain who would rob me of my verses! This must be the effect of magic, which drives me to despair!" Frederick laughed heartily at the scene, and rewarded the Englishman for the pleasure which he had afforded him.

At this time Voltaire describes himself as "attached by the most respectful tenderness and the most perfect conformity in taste to the king of Prussia," and that monarch as being "not less agreeable in society than terrible at the head of an army;" adding that his "enthusiasm for the king of Prussia was excessive." He then gives the following brief description of his way of life at Potsdam. "My apartments were under the king's, and I never left my room except for supper. The king composed above stairs works of philosophy, history, and poetry; and his favourite below stairs, cultivated the same arts and the same talents. They communicated their respective works to one another. The Prussian monarch was writing at this time his History of Brandenburg, and the French author his Age of Louis XIV, having brought with him all his materials. His days thus passed happily in a repose enlivened only by agreeable occupations."

This repose, however, was not of long duration.

Thiébault, who strives hard to defend his countryman Voltaire, is, nevertheless, obliged to admit facts which would alone suffice to disturb the good understanding between him and the king. In remarking on the natural jealousy of two such superior minds, and intimating that probably at their first meeting Frederick's friendship was only affected, he gives us to understand that the king was stingy towards Voltaire. If it be unworthy of a monarch to give a foreign writer, merely for the sake of his intellectual advantages, without requiring any essential service, not more than five thousand dollars per annum, apartments in the palace, a table, equipage, servants, free of expence, why then indeed Frederick may be liable to such a charge. But let us hear how Voltaire contrived to make himself amends for the want of royal liberality. For the sake of impartiality we shall adopt Thiébault's own words.

The first causes of discontent arose from the parsimonious disposition of both. On this point Voltaire had laid down a plan, of which it would be difficult to find any other example. Possessing a handsome patrimonial property, which in the sequel was increased by a legacy, he strove incessantly to augment it, and his efforts were so successful as to raise his income from 20,000 francs to 100,000; and then, at a considerably advanced age, he first began to live in high style. When he came to Berlin, he had not yet arrived at this goal, and still adhered to his economical system. In his agreement with Frederick—the assumption of such

an agreement is no doubt one out of the thousands of errors with which Thièbault's book swarms—the king had promised him the chamberlain's key and the order of Merit, and moreover, what was not the least powerful persuasive with the gentilhomme de la chambre du roi, the salary of a minister of state, that is to say about 5000 dollars, besides lodgings in the palace, free table, wood, two wax-candles per day, and a certain quantity of sugar, coffee, tea and chocolate monthly. Here the editor of Thièbault's work remarks in a note: "Old count Nesselrode says that the king gave directions that the table of the poet should be daily supplied with a suitable dinner for six persons; but that Voltaire was so unreasonable as to ask eight or ten. Now though there was always sufficient to eat, yet, as the officers of the kitchen were not apprized of the circumstance, there was sometimes a deficiency of minor articles, such as coffee, sugar, liqueurs, &c. On this account Voltaire launched out into sarcasms on the stinginess of the king, and these, as it may be easily conceived, were soon reported to Frederick.

"Now it so happened," proceeds Thièbault, "that Voltaire was supplied with sugar, coffee, tea, and chocolate of inferior quality: and as he imagined that Frederick was not so ill served as not to know this,—nay that it was perhaps done by his orders—he took the first opportunity that occurred of complaining. 'I am astonished at this abominable conduct,' replied the king. 'What! a man like you, and for whom I entertain so much friendship, to be

treated thus! Indeed, it is scandalous, but you thence see what men are—they are all cheats. I thank you, however, for telling me of this matter and will take care that it shall not occur again.' But no alteration took place, and Voltaire complained more bitterly than before. 'Indeed it is too bad,' exclaimed the king, 'to obey me so ill! and after the orders too that you know I gave! But what am I to do? I cannot possibly hang these people on account of a lump of sugar or a handful of tea. I am only sorry that M. de Voltaire is drawn down by such bagatelles from the lofty sphere of his ideas. Let us not waste the time that we might devote to the Muses and to friendship on such trifles. Come, my friend, you need not care about such petty articles that only cause you vexation: I will give orders to stop them.'

"This turn surprised Voltaire not a little. 'Aha!' said he to himself; 'here then one must help one's self as one can. If that is the case, the dupe is the only simpleton.' He now began to sell his monthly allowance of wax-candles, and, in order not to be without light, to go several times every evening upon various pretexts to his room, taking with him each time one of the candles which were left burning in the king's antechamber, and to which he might have said: 'You are my coffee and my sugar.'

"The reader may judge what an impression this conduct must have made upon the king, and how much it must have endangered the good under-

standing between them. Henceforward they actually watched each other very closely, and both kept, as it were, on their guard. Their friendly intercourse, nevertheless, continued, and excepting the forenoons, which the king invariably devoted to the public business, and some occasional entertainments, they were scarcely ever apart. They supped together every evening, and those who were fortunate enough to be present had abundant opportunity to admire the genius and the inexhaustible wit of these two extraordinary men."

This whole section of Thiébault's work, written in such a tone that one might suppose the author to have been present, though it was not till twelve years after Voltaire left Berlin that he arrived there, cannot be regarded in any other light than as a lame apology for the meanness of his celebrated countryman. This disposition he manifested still more conspicuously towards the conclusion of the year 1750, in his notorious law-suit with a Jew named Hirsch, whom he employed in the illegal purchase of bills of the Saxon Steuer on his account, and who charged the poet with an attempt to cheat him in a bargain about some diamonds. The Steuer was a bank established at Dresden, on which the king of Poland had circulated so many bills that it was unable to pay them, and they were sold at half their value. In the treaty of Dresden it had been stipulated that Prussian subjects holding these bills should be reimbursed without loss.

The Prussians, taking advantage of this circumstance and of the conditions of the treaty, purchased these bills at a low rate from other Germans and from the Dutch, and got them paid without any deduction. During the jobbing in this paper, Voltaire employed Hirsch to buy bills for him to the amount of 10,000 crowns, as a security for which he placed in Voltaire's hands diamonds belonging to Chasot, whose name I have had occasion to mention among Frederick's particular friends, and which that officer had received from the duchess of Mecklenburg, whose favour he had for some time enjoyed. In the course of these transactions, Voltaire conceived suspicions of the character of his agent, and the course which he pursued to save himself from being swindled, as he apprehended, gave publicity to the affair which had been negociated with the utmost secrecy. The result was a process between him and Hirsch, which was made the subject of a farce called "Tantalus at Law," erroneously attributed to the pen of Frederick himself, but the real author of which was probably M. Pottier, court-poet to the margrave Charles.

Hirsch preferred his complaint to the king, who, full of displeasure at Voltaire's conduct in this affair, referred the matter to the high chancellor Cocceji, with express orders to let strict justice be done to both parties. The trial lasted several months, and the upshot was that the Jew lost his

cause, and was soon afterwards imprisoned in the citadel of Magdeburg for forging bills of exchange and other acts of roguery.

This affair afforded the literary men of Frederick's court, who were jealous of Voltaire's superior talents and of his influence with the king, especially his own countrymen, a handle for insisting that he had attempted to swindle Hirsch out of his diamonds; and Voltaire in return circulated satires against them. With d'Argens he had quarrelled on a former visit to Berlin, because he had taken under his protection the unfortunate poet J. Baptiste Rousseau, as a man of talent. Either from hatred to Rousseau, or from inordinate vanity, Voltaire regarded this as a personal affront. He revenged it by a stinging epigram in which he called d'Argens, on account of his Lettres Juives, the wandering Jew; and he had the malice to hand it to the good-natured marquis as a proof of the gratitude of his protégé. At first d'Argens was furious at the supposed perfidy of Rousseau, but, with the frankness which distinguished his character, he applied to Rousseau himself, and soon arrived at the certainty of Voltaire's malignant conduct. Of course d'Argens could not be on friendly terms with the latter; and though he was too generous to injure him with the king, still it is well known that Frederick was acquainted with this disgraceful trait.

The sarcasms of Frederick, who was fond of rallying Voltaire on this failing in order to irritate

him, soon produced an open rupture between him and another of the king's companions, Baculard d'Arnaud, to whom as we have seen he bore a grudge before his departure from Paris. To vex Voltaire and to wound his pride, Frederick one evening praised some verses of d'Arnaud's far beyond their deserts. "You must admit," said he to Voltaire, "that d'Arnaud really possesses extraordinary poetic talent; there are a few verses of his which are worth a whole poem." This was sufficient to incense Voltaire and to excite his bitterest enmity against d'Arnaud; and thenceforward he left no stone unturned to expel him from the king's society. His efforts proved so successful that d'Arnaud actually quitted Berlin on his account, and retired to Dresden, where he was appointed councillor of legation. It is related of d'Arnaud that, one day at Frederick's table, when most of his guests were vying with each other in exhibiting proofs of their atheism, the king desired to hear d'Arnaud's opinion. "Sire," he replied, "I believe in a Being who is above all kings." D'Arnaud returned to his native country, survived the Revolution, was imprisoned during the reign of terror, and died in 1805.

To none of his literary associates was Voltaire more inimical than to Maupertuis, president of the Academy of Berlin, with whom he had formerly been on the most friendly terms, and whom he had publicly flattered, comparing his scientific attainments with those of Archimedes, his courage as a

traveller with that of Columbus, and his masterly narrative of his adventures with the works of a Michael Angelo and Albani. Voltaire's jealous desire of fame dissolved this tie also, when they came to be together at Potsdam. If we may believe Thiébault the cause of this enmity was very trivial. "Both of them," he says, "were returning, between one and two o'clock one morning from Sans-Souci to Potsdam in one of the king's carriages, when Maupertuis exclaimed, in a tone of triumph: 'It must be confessed that this has been a delightful evening!'—'I never passed a more tedious one,' replied Voltaire. To enable the reader to comprehend the full force of these expressions, it should be remarked that Voltaire in general displayed in conversation such a superiority of wit and talent as to reduce to silence every one else excepting Frederick, who alone was able to cope with him: but this extraordinary man sometimes had, whether from bodily or other causes, moments in which he was mute, cold, and apparently paralysed. Maupertuis, on the contrary, less brilliant than Voltaire, was every day alike, and could occasionally shine when the latter omitted to put forth his powers. On the evening in question, Voltaire had had one of his dull fits, and Maupertuis had shone. Certain it is that from this time they kept no terms with one another; and the king, who sometimes delighted in raising petty squabbles, did, on this occasion, all that lay in his power to

prevent a complete and open rupture and to reconcile the belligerent parties."

Maupertuis had, partly from vanity as an author, partly by some eccentric ideas which he had published in his works, put into the hand of the witty Voltaire a weapon, with which the letter soon attacked him without mercy. Maupertuis had inserted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Berlin a cosmological essay relative to the laws of motion and rest upon the metaphysical principle of the smallest power; but, to his severe vexation, professor König, of Franeker in Holland, declared that this idea, so far from being new, belonged to Leibnitz. Such was the mortification of the president that he procured the exclusion of his adversary, who was an honorary member of the Academy, from that body. König was moreover a friend of Voltaire's and of the late marquise du Chatelet's; the irritable poet took up the pen in his behalf, and wrote in 1752 the Letter of an Academician, which was answered at Frederick's instigation in a Letter from an Academician in Berlin to a Paris Academician.

This sharp commencement led to a very dangerous contest. In his "Philosophical Letters," Maupertuis had furnished abundant subject for ridicule. He had proposed among other things to build a Latin city; to dig a hole to the centre of the earth, in order to ascertain the composition of its interior; to go to the strait of Magellan and to

dissect the brains of Patagonians to discover the nature of the soul; to coat all patients with rosin, to prevent the danger of infection; to adopt the principle of no cure no pay in the remuneration of medical men; to proscribe anatomy and the theoretic study of medicine in general as useless to the practical physician; to confine every physican to the treatment and cure of one particular disease. These and other whims of the kind Voltaire scourged most unmercifully in the witty and satirical "Diatribe of Doctor Akakia, physician to the pope," a piece which, if published, must have held forth the president to everlasting ridicule.

Frederick, when this performance was read to him in manuscript, is said to have been highly amused, and to have laughed heartily at it; but, anxious to keep up the character of his Academy, as well as that of its president, with whom he had for some years familiarly associated, he begged Voltaire to suppress the Diatribe: nay Thiebault relates that, "after reading the manuscript, the king and Voltaire, with mock gravity consigned it to the flames jointly calling upon the gods of the upper and the nether world." Be this as it may, if Voltaire did even promise to suppress his manuscript, and consent to the farce of burning it, he had no intention of performing that promise; on the contrary, he took good care that it should be printed and published. The king could not be ignorant of the participation of the author himself in the publication of the Diatribe at Dresden. His anger at

this perfidy was just, and manifested itself in these severe expressions: "Your impudence astonishes me. After what you have done, which is as clear as day, you persist in your denial, instead of confessing your guilt. Do not imagine that you can make me believe black to be white: sometimes one does not see because one chooses not to see everything. But if you carry matters to extremities, I will have everything printed, and the world shall see that, if your works deserve statues, your conduct is worthy of chains.

"P.S. The publisher has been examined and confessed all."

It is easy to conceive with what levity the unprincipled Voltaire would endeavour to clear himself from just imputations, and what submissions and flatteries he would employ to regain the good graces of the king. He feigned illness, and wrote to Frederick as follows: "Ah, my God, sire! and in the state in which I am too! I swear to you once more upon my life, which I would cheerfully resign, that it is all atrocious calumny. I implore you to let all my people be confronted. Would you condemn me unheard? I desire justice and death." On the 27th of November, 1752, he subscribed, with many excuses and promises of obedience, a declaration in Frederick's own handwriting never in future during his residence with the king to write against any one, either against the French government, or against foreign ministers and sovereigns, or those eminent persons, to whom respect

is due, and not to make an improper use of the king's letters: and thus the affair would have terminated entirely to the advantage of the offender, had not his irritability led to a complete rupture.

One of Voltaire's foibles was his inability to repress a bon-mot, how indecorous soever it might be. At the dinner-table he had once made a declaration of love to Frederick's sister Amelia, in an impromptu, on which he was afterwards known to have bestowed great pains; and Frederick had chastised the presumptuous poet on the spot in a caustic epigram. Voltaire now forgot himself so far as frequently to speak of the king in the most disrespectful terms before persons who would be sure to report them to Frederick. Thus, after the death of de la Metrie it was reported to the king that Voltaire had said that "the post of atheist to his majesty was vacant."—"This calumny," observes Voltaire, "had no effect, but Maupertuis added that I said the king wrote bad verses, and this was more successful." One day, when General Manstein requested Voltaire to revise and correct his memoirs, the latter replied: "I have so much dirty linen of the king's to wash that your's must wait;" and again, when the king sent him a packet of his verses, he threw it on the table in a pet exclaiming: "That man is Cæsar and the abbé Cotin united*!" A letter being brought to him addressed: "To M.

* The abbé Cotin was a prating coxcomb of Paris, whom Boileau frequently lashed in his satires; and Molière exhibited on the stage.

de Voltaire at the Palace," he struck out the words following his name and wrote instead: "in the guard-house," and on another occasion declared that the king was "only a corporal." Several epigrams of the severest kind were also written by Frederick and Voltaire upon each other, and it was so contrived by those who wished to widen the breach between them, that these compositions should always reach the eyes and ears of the person lampooned.

On one occasion, when Frederick thought that he had more reason than usual to be displeased with Voltaire, he wrote him a reproachful note concluding with these severe words: "You have a heart a hundred times more horrible than your genius is beautiful." This note he sent to Voltaire's apartment by a page. On reading it, his rage was unbounded. He applied to the king every odious epithet he could think of, making at the same time the most virulent charges against him, in a loud and angry tone, while pacing to and fro. The affrighted page, who was waiting for his answer, strove to check him, saying: "Recollect, sir, that it is the king you are speaking of; that you are in his house, and that I, before whom you use such language, am his servant." These words had an instantaneous effect on Voltaire, though they failed to abate his violence. Seizing the page by the arm, "I take you, sir," he cried, "as the judge between him and me: I defy you to discover any fault that I have committed against him. One, it is true, I

have committed and that is irreparable—I have taught him to make better verses than I can myself. Go, sir, and take him this answer."

The page returned to the king, whom he found walking about his room and waiting impatiently for the answer. "Have you delivered my note?" asked the king, as soon as he saw him. "Yes, sire."—"Did you deliver it to M. de Voltaire himself?"—"Yes, sire."—"Did he read it in your presence?"—"Yes, sire."—"And what did he say and do after he had read it?"—To this question the terrified page returned no answer. "I ask you," repeated the king, "what M. de Voltaire said when he had read my note?" Still the page continued silent. "Take care, sir," resumed the angry monarch, "I am determined to know what he said and did. Speak, I command you." The page, more frightened than ever, began to tell his tale, stopping at almost every word, and not daring to raise his eyes to the king, who, as he proceeded, became every moment more angry and agitated. But the exaggerated compliment to his own verses, which concluded the report, calmed him at once, and when the page had finished, he only shrugged his shoulders and said: "He must be mad!"

Having seized the whole edition of the libellous Diatribe, the king deemed it necessary to give the author an impressive lesson. He therefore ordered the work to be burned by the common executioner on the 24th of December, in the most public places of Berlin; and Voltaire from his window viewed

the execution of this significant sentence. At the first moment, he appeared to be but little affected by it. "Ah!" said he, with a loud laugh; "look at the soul of Maupertuis ascending in smoke! and what thick, black, heavy smoke it is! What a waste of wood! while the four little deserters are posting away to Holland!" alluding to four copies of the Akakia, which he had taken care to send off to that country.

But, insensible as the author seemed at first to this literary execution, the indignity galled him most severely. He shunned the king, sent back to him the gold key and the order, together with the patent of his pension, accompanied with these flattering farewell lines:

Je les reçus avec tendresse
Et je les rends avec douleur,
Comme un amant, dans sa jalouse ardeur,
Rend le portrait de sa maitresse.

He wrote at the same time as follows: "Apprehensive, sire, that I may no longer be permitted to approach your majesty, I have again laid at your feet the tokens of kindness which attached me to the person of your majesty. Judge of the dreadful situation of myself and my family. There is nothing left for me but to hide myself for ever, and to deplore my misfortune in solitude. Fredersdorf, who strives to comfort me under it, gives me hope that your majesty may be pleased to raise me from the disgrace with which I am overwhelmed. He knows that I feel most painfully the misfortune of

having incurred your displeasure. Alas! how I am to appear again in public, how live, I know not!—My state is terrible: grief must kill me. Ah! let your philanthropy take compassion on me! What will become of me! what am I to do! I know not. All I know is that I have been bound to you for these sixteen years. Decide upon my life, devoted to you, the close of which will now be painful indeed. You are gracious, you are indulgent. I am the most wretched of your subjects. Decide my fate."

These words, which express such deep contrition, might well be regarded as sincere; but they were as false and hypocritical as the part acted by the writer during his whole life. As for Frederick, this effusion produced the desired effect upon him. He sent back to the poet by Fredersdorf the patent, order, and key. In the newspaper of the 18th of January 1753 was inserted a paragraph to this effect: "M. de Voltaire thinks it incumbent on him to state that he has had no hand in the publications which have recently appeared relative to the literary dispute or to other subjects, and which have been attributed to him in several journals and newspapers. It is repugnant to him to be represented as their author, and it would be still more so to write on merely philosophic and literary matters, in a way that could be in the least injurious to morals, or wound the honour of another, be he who he may. He takes no part whatever in such quarrels, and is engaged upon a work of a totally

different kind, which occupies his whole time, since all his thoughts are at present directed to the completion of the history of his native country." This introduction was followed up on the 30th of the same month by a statement that "as his majesty had been pleased to send back to M. de Voltaire the key and order, with directions to proceed with the royal suite to Potsdam and to take possession again of his apartments in the palace there, he had returned thither accordingly."

Voltaire soon perceived that, whatever opinion might be entertained of his talents as a writer at the court of Prussia, he had forfeited all respect as a man. His quarrel with Maupertuis was not by any means the only cause of his disgrace; this he had long been aware of, and he solicited in vain the mediation of the margravine of Bayreuth. His wholly unphilosophic way of life depreciated his character exceedingly, and by his suit with Hirsch the Jew, he became a public scandal. He was often and keenly reproached by the king with holding secret correspondence with the foreign ministers, and furnishing occasion for a variety of disagreeable circumstances. But the most pernicious effect produced by Voltaire was the change caused by him in the disposition of the king. In the hours devoted to social intercourse and relaxation, Frederick had hitherto been accustomed wholly to forget the sovereign, and to be only the friend of his friends —the thinker, the artist, the poet, the man. But, after he had received such painful lessons; after he

had seen his most innocent actions exposed to the most scandalous misconstruction, and expressions used by him in the social circle publicly distorted; after he was obliged to accuse persons whose genius and talents rendered them worthy to associate with him not only of foibles of the heart, but of detestable actions, proclaiming an utter want of principle —he then began to be mistrustful and reserved; the delightful dream of youth was over; he secluded himself more and more in his later years, and his heart, previously open to the kindly feelings, became gradually enveloped in an almost impenetrable crust. To this lamentable change the conduct of Voltaire essentially contributed.

He now solicited permission to go to France, to use the baths of Plombières for the benefit of his health. The king, still wishing to keep him, sent him bark, and advised him to try the mineral waters of Silesia. For eleven days he waited at a private house for the solicited leave of absence. Frederick wished to see him again in Potsdam; and for six days Voltaire took up his abode in the apartments which he had before occupied in the palace. All that was past seemed to be forgotten: the evenings were spent as formerly; cheerful parties surrounded the supper-table; and both appeared unwilling to part. In his Memoirs, it is true, it suited the malignant spirit of Voltaire to give a different representation. "I made one more supper," he says, "in the manner of Damocles, and then departed, with a promise to return to the king,

and a firm determination never to see him again." The parting interview took place on the Parade in Potsdam, where Frederick was exercising the troops. Being informed that Voltaire was come to receive his commands, he turned to him. "M. de Voltaire," said he, "are you still determined to go?"—"I am obliged to go, sire, by business, which I cannot neglect and still more by the state of my health."—"In that case, sir, I wish you a good journey." Such was the final parting of these two remarkable men.

Voltaire proceeded to Leipzig, where he passed some weeks, on account of illness, as it was publicly alleged, but continued his quarrel with Maupertuis, which led to the grossest personalities and abuse. The president, debilitated by consumption and without hope of recovery, threatened that, if Voltaire did not cease his slanders, he would follow him and take satisfaction wherever he might be and whatever might be the state of his health. A letter from Dr. Akakia was the only answer to this challenge. He next went to the court of the duchess of Saxe-Gotha, "an excellent princess," he observes, "who luckily did not make verses;" and, after staying a month at Gotha, continued his journey to Cassel, upon an invitation from the landgrave, "who cared still less about poetry than the duchess of Gotha." Here he met baron Pöllnitz, returning from some bathing-place to Potsdam, and unacquainted with what had happened at the court of Prussia during his absence. Pöllnitz ever afterwards described

Voltaire as exhibiting ungovernable rage when he spoke of Frederick. "Your king," he cried, "has treated me infamously: tell him I shall not forget it. Yes, tell him that I will have my revenge. Posterity shall be informed of the whole transaction. He shall have reason to repent his conduct, when it is too late. Yes, I will be revenged: do tell him so."

These vindictive feelings were exasperated, if possible, by what took place at Frankfurt, to which city he next pursued his course, and where he was met by his niece, Madame Denis. He had taken with him, whether intentionally or not, some manuscripts and the king's miscellaneous poems, which were printed but not published, and had been long in his hands for correction. On his arrival at Frankfurt, he was arrested, on the requisition of the Prussian resident Freytag, by order of the burgomaster, and detained prisoner, with his niece, for seventeen days, till the arrival of the papers and books in question, which had been left at Leipzig with his baggage. The history which he gives of his detention, in his own sarcastic manner, and no doubt with much exaggeration, is amusing. "On my arrival," he says, "they intimated that I must not quit Frankfurt till I had restored the valuables belonging to his majesty, which I had carried away with me. 'Alas! gentlemen, I am carrying nothing away from that country, I assure you, not even the least regret. What then are the jewels of the crown of Brandenburg, which you require me to give up?'

—'C'être Monsir,' answered Freitag, 'l'œuvre de poëshie du roi mon gracieux maître.'—'Oh,' I replied, 'I will restore to him most cheerfully both his prose and his verse, though I have more claims than one upon the work. His majesty gave me a copy beautifully bound, but, unluckily, this book is still at Leipzig with my other things.' Freitag now proposed to me to remain at Frankfurt till the arrival of the treasure from Leipzig, and he signed the following pretty memorandum:—'Monsir, sitôt le gros ballot de Leipsick sera içi, où est l'œuvre de poëshie du roi mon maître, que sa majesté demande, et l'œuvre de poëshie rendu à moi, vous pourrez partir où vous paraîtra bon. A Francfort, 1 de Juin 1753. Freitag, résident du roi mon maître!' Underneath this memorandum, I wrote: 'Bon pour l'œuvre de poëshie du roi votre maître;' with which the resident was quite satisfied.

On the 17th of June arrived the great package of poëshies. I faithfully delivered up this sacred deposit and then thought that I might set off without asking permission of any crowned head. But at the very instant of my departure I was arrested —myself, my secretary, and my servants. My niece too was seized, and four soldiers dragged her through the muddy streets to Schmidt. They crammed us both into a sort of small inn, at the door of which were posted twelve soldiers; four others were placed in my room; four in a garret to which my niece had been consigned; four in a sort of cock-loft, open to all the winds of heaven, where my secretary was

obliged to sleep upon straw. My niece had, it is true, a small bed; but the four soldiers in her room, with fixed bayonets, supplied the place of curtains and chambermaids. In this manner we were detained prisoners of war for twelve days, and obliged to pay 140 crowns per day. Schmidt took possession of my effects, which were restored to me lighter by half. It was impossible to pay dearer for the 'Œuvre de Poëshie du Roi de Prusse.'. I lost about as much as it had cost him in getting me to Potsdam and taking lessons of me, so that at parting we were quits."

Voltaire himself assigns no cause for this last act of rigour, which is said to have been occasioned by an attempt to escape, while waiting for the arrival of the "Œuvre de Poëshie." Be this as it may, it is evident that, if in this proceeding any unnecessary harshness was employed, the blame of it must not be laid upon the king, to whom it is charged by some writers, but on the authorities, either civil or military, of the free imperial city of Frankfurt.

Voltaire's vow of revenge was duly performed in the sequel, as well in the infamous *Vie privée du Roi de Prusse*, which at least is attributed on good grounds to his pen, as in the Memoirs of his own life; and these have been the copious sources of calumnies, some of them of the most odious and detestable nature, against the character of the great Frederick, which even respectable writers have not hesitated to repeat.

It is an extraordinary circumstance that, in the course of the very next year after Voltaire left Prussia, the king, who was not blinded to the merits of the author by the worthlessness of the man, renewed his correspondence with him, which Voltaire's misconduct had for a while interrupted; this epistolary intercourse was continued till the death of the poet in 1778 at the age of 85. In vain did Voltaire, when he imagined that he had completely regained the favour of the monarch allude to "the toys and gewgaws"—the order and the key—which had been unjustly taken from him at Frankfurt. Frederick would not understand the allusion, but wrote to him in February 1760 from his head-quarters at Freiberg: "You refer to individual circumstances of a history that I am not acquainted with. I know that my verses and the toys were taken from you at Frankfurt; but I never heard that your things or your money had been touched, neither did I wish that they should be."

To d'Arget who was then in Paris, Frederick thus wrote soon after Voltaire's departure: "I am not surprised that people in Paris talk of the quarrel of our *beaux esprits*. Voltaire is the most mischievous madman I ever knew. He is only fit to be read. It is impossible for you to conceive the duplicities, the impositions, the infamies, which he practised here. I am quite indignant that such talents and acquirements do not make men better. I took the part of Maupertuis, because he is a good sort of man, and the other had determined upon ruining

him; but I did not lend myself to his revenge in the way that he could have wished. An overweening vanity had rendered him too sensitive to the manœuvres of this monkey, whom he ought to have castigated and despised."

As no further occasion will present itself for mentioning Maupertuis, I may here add that his declining health induced him to leave Prussia for France in 1756. Two years afterwards he went to Basle, and there died in July 1759, in the arms of his friend Bernouilli.

In 1753, soon after Voltaire had left Prussia M. von Gotter minister of the posting department and a noted gourmand, on his return from Spa, recommended to the king a French officer, named Masson, captain in the regiment of Champagne and a knight of St. Louis, as a man of wonderful talents and attainments and well qualified to be successor to that eminent but petulant poet. Frederick in consequence invited the chevalier to settle at Potsdam, offering him the title of chamberlain and a pension of four thousand francs. Masson obtained his dismission from the French service and accepted the offer of the Prussian monarch.

Frederick was not long in discovering that Voltaire was a person whom it would not be easy to replace, and that gourmands, even though ministers, are not the best judges of merit. Masson possessed none of the brilliant talents that were united in Voltaire. He was indeed a scholar and a man of good understanding, but it was rather singular and

original than just and solid; and his knowledge extended no farther than the classic writers and the most esteemed critics: both these he seemed to know by heart. Hence his library, which was tolerably copious, comprehended, besides works of these two classes, nothing but a large collection of literary journals.

On Masson's arrival at the Prussian court, the king, in order to have opportunities of estimating his talents and qualifications, invited him daily to dinner, and after the repast he seldom failed to chat some time with him, while walking to and fro in the saloon contiguous to the dining-room. In one of these conversations the king asked the chevalier who, in his opinion, was the greatest captain that ever lived. He said that he had often asked himself this question, but had not been able to resolve it to his entire satisfaction; that he had wavered between Alexander, Hannibal, and Cæsar; but that he was disposed to award the palm to Hannibal. At the same time he assigned his reasons for this preference. "Sire," replied Masson, "in my opinion the greatest captain that ever lived was Henry IV." This answer acted upon Frederick like a great and sudden surprize. He said that nobody had a higher regard for Henry IV., on account of his many high and amiable qualities, than himself, but that, as in him the quality of warrior was only a secondary quality, he ought to be left out of the list; and therefore, returning to his question, he could not help fixing as before upon

Hannibal, "And I, sire, upon Henry IV." rejoined Masson. At another time perhaps the king might have been angry; but he happened just then to be in a good humour: the scene appeared comic and he resolved to amuse himself for a moment. Assuming the air and tone of one who is reflecting profoundly on what he is going to say, he paced the room in silence. "Yes," he at length said, "all things duly considered, Hannibal." The chevalier, walking on one side of him, about half a step behind, imitated his action and repeated in his turn: "Yes, Henry IV." In this manner they continued their walk in silence, the one merely repeating from time to time "Hannibal," the other as constantly replying "Henry IV.," till his majesty retired to his cabinet, saying with a loud laugh "Hannibal," while Masson did not fail, before he left the saloon, to make it re-echo, "Henry IV."

If this scene served to lower the chevalier in the estimation of the king, who thenceforth considered him as an eccentric person, scarcely possessed of common sense, a circumstance that occurred shortly afterwards excluded him entirely from Frederick's favour. When the princess Amelia had decided not to marry, the king procured for her the sovereign abbey and principality of Quedlinburg, a protestant foundation, with a revenue of about 4000*l.* sterling. The princess, on her return from taking possession of this dignity, passed through Potsdam, where her brother gave her a dinner of ceremony as to a sovereign princess. To this

entertainment he invited M. Masson, under the idea that he might assist the conversation and help to enliven the company by some unexpected originalities. Masson was eccentric, but he made nobody laugh. "Madam" said he, to the princess, towards the conclusion of the repast, in one of those moments of silence from which he thought to relieve the company, "when the regent duke of Orleans gave the abbey of Chelles to his daughter, he said to her: My daughter, you will take three vows—the vow of obedience, and you will command; the vow of poverty, and you will be rich; and the vow of chastity, and you will keep it—if you can." At this speech all eyes were cast down; the silence was more profound than before, and all waited anxiously for the moment to rise from table, to quit M. Masson, and never to see him more. In fact, after this dinner he never received another invitation: his name was never mentioned; he was forgotten, as though he had never existed. He soon discovered how deeply he was in disgrace, and he was as decided as Frederick in regard to the course that he should pursue. He would neither receive nor pay visits, buried himself among his books in the profoundest solitude, "the world forgetting, by the world forgot." Thenceforward he never had a new suit of clothes, as an old morning gown or a shabby great coat was all he wanted. An old woman was his housekeeper: his parsimony was inconceivable; he lived wholly upon vegetables, and it is asserted that his expenses did not exceed

ten sous (fivepence English) per day. In this manner he lived upward of sixteen years, so totally forgotten that it would have been in vain to enquire after him at Potsdam; and so entirely secluded from the world that he had not heard a word about the seven years' war, which had rendered Potsdam a desert around him: for, when that war was over, and some one spoke of it in his presence he asked what war he meant, and his astonishment was only equalled by the difficulty he had to believe that he been alone for so many years.

In this manner he passed from sixteen to twenty years of his life, never leaving his apartment but to go to Berlin twice or thrice a year, no doubt to remit his savings to France through some trusty banker. At length the king struck his name out of the pension list, and sent him word that he was at liberty to go whither he pleased. He accordingly returned to France, taking with him his books, which constituted the whole of his moveable property; and Thièbault, from whom this sketch of M. Masson is extracted adds, that his savings must have secured to him a larger income than the pension which he had enjoyed at Potsdam.

In the year 1754 commenced the confinement in the dungeons of the fortress of Magdeburg of Frederick baron Trenk, whose history and adventures are sufficiently remarkable to deserve a brief notice here. He was born in 1726 at Königsberg where his father died as a Prussian major-general in 1740. Like his cousin, the Austrian Trenk,

he was endowed by Nature with eminent qualities both of body and mind. At the age of seventeen he entered into the military service, and acted as aide-de-camp to the king in the campaign of 1744. Frederick esteemed him and conferred on him the order of Merit: but in the following year, being suspected of a correspondence with his cousin, the founder of the partisan troops in the Austrian service called Pandours, he was sent to the fortress of Glatz. In the Memoirs which he has left of his life, he himself frankly confesses that "the king, his sovereign and his benefactor, had forbidden him to write to his cousin, and that he, after he had done so, nevertheless declared upon his honour that he had no correspondence whatever with the Austrian Trenk." In that work he attributes the hardships which he was early doomed to suffer to an attachment conceived for him, when only seventeen years old, by the king's youngest sister Amelia.

"In the winter of 1743," he says, "the marriage of the king's sister, with the king [crown-prince] of Sweden was celebrated. One day, when I was on duty with the guard of honour near her person, to escort her to Stettin, amidst the confusion which usually attends numerous cortèges, and while I was actively engaged in endeavouring to keep order, my watch was stolen, and a bit of my uniform, with the rich lace attached to it, was cut off. This accident amused the ladies, who bantered me a good deal upon it. At length one of them said: 'Trenk you shall not have long to

regret the loss you have just sustained.' An intelligible expression of the eye accompanied these words, and filled me with joy. A few days afterwards I was the happiest man in Berlin. Both of us felt all the transports of a first passion; and as the lady of my heart was a person who must have inspired any man with sentiments of the deepest respect and affection, I have never cursed my misfortunes, though our attachment was the first cause of the calamities which have overwhelmed me."

Thiebault tells us that the king was informed of the secret visits paid by Trenk to the princess, and proceeds: "'There was but one suitable way of intimating to him that his conduct was known and that he must change it—this was to use him harshly till he guessed the reason for it. After every clandestine visit, therefore, he was put under arrest: these arrests became more frequent and longer; but Trenk would not take the hint. At length the king determined to try the effect of absence. Trenk had been under arrest for the twentieth time, above a month, when he received orders to set out instantly for Vienna, upon a mission for which he was furnished with detailed instructions. It was expected that, owing to the dilatoriness of the imperial court, Trenk would be detained for a considerable time, but he pushed the business with such energy and success that he was soon back in Potsdam. He gave an account of his proceedings to the king, who listened to him with extreme

coldness, and, instead of expressing satisfaction, merely asked: 'Where were you before you set out for Vienna?'—'Sire I had been under arrest for a month.'—'Then go back to it.' Here he was left for nearly another month; but he was incorrigible, and he was sent to the fortress of Glatz in Silesia as a prisoner of state, upon pretext of having furnished the Austrian government with plans of the Prussian fortresses during his recent visit to Vienna. After his escape from Glatz, he had the imprudence to exhibit the portrait of the lady in question both at Vienna and Petersburg. At a grand dinner given by the chancellor of Russia, this portrait passed from hand to hand, and the language with which these indiscretions were accompanied, roused the indignation of Frederick."

Whether these particulars given by Thiébault are correct or not—and I have found abundant reason to doubt the accuracy of that writer in matters which were not within his own knowledge—so much is certain that for his misconduct Trenk was confined in Glatz and declared incapable of further service; but he says in his Memoirs that the king meant this imprisonment only as a lesson, and would not have left him long in durance. After a confinement of seventeen months, however, he contrived to escape, seducing an officer named Schell and the guard to accompany him, and killing those by whom he was pursued.

He then entered into the Russian service and in 1750 went to Vienna, to claim the estates of his

cousin, who had recently died as a prisoner of state in the fortress of Spielberg, after appointing the Prussian Trenk, who had visited him in 1747 at Vienna, his sole heir. In 1752 Maria Theresa gave a captain's commission to the young baron, who had been cornet in the garde du corps at Berlin. Two years afterwards, he obtained leave of absence, and went to Danzig, in company of the Hungarian baron Buttlar, as he himself alleges, to arrange with his brothers and sisters the division of the property left by his deceased mother, which was situated in Prussia. There he was apprehended by the magistrates of the city, on the requisition of Frederick, because he was continually circulating fugitive publications attributing odious designs to the court of Prussia; and more particularly because he had been closely connected with Bestuchef, at the time when that minister had, in association with the other enemies of Frederick, been actively planning his ruin.

Trenk, whose patrimonial inheritance, Gross Scharlack, had been already assigned by the king to his younger brother Louis, was conveyed to Magdeburg, where general Borck, the commandant, was held responsible with his head for the safe custody of the prisoner. He was at first well treated, but, having nearly worked his way through the wall, he was removed in the night, in a carriage, and, after being driven about a long time in the dark that he might not know where he was, put into a dungeon expressly prepared for him in the outwork

called the Star, which is still shown to the curious. He was now ironed by one leg only; but, undaunted by failure, he was incessantly devising new means of regaining his liberty, in consequence of which he was loaded with fetters weighing sixty-eight pounds. The compassionate smith, however, showed him how to unscrew them. He contrived also to gain the pity of the soldiers who guarded him, and now began to cut through the thick planks of the flooring, and to execute the herculean labour of forming a mine under his bedstead, which was not discovered till he was on the point of breaking out. The unfortunate smith hanged himself, and the prisoner was treated with increased severity. He says that he was nearly starved to death, and annoyed by being roused from sleep every hour; but the strength of his constitution enabled him to bear up under these hardships.

His condition was indeed pitiable; but he was secretly supplied with money, and, by bribing his guards, procured files and other tools, candles, and writing materials, and contrived to send letters to the princess Amelia and other friends. Even members of the royal family contributed to lighten his situation and sent for his amusement books, which he ungratefully returned with indecorous remarks written on the margin with red ink, that it might pass for blood. This extraordinary prisoner also found means to relieve the tedium of long years of solitude by works of art. He engraved a metal seal with the motto "Through storm to the port,"

rare impressions of which are still preserved in the cabinets of the curious; and the Museum of Berlin contains a tin bowl, around which are twenty-five groups of figures engraved by Trenk with a needle. This bowl, together with a poetical explanation of the figures, in French and German verse, 37 small octavo pages, he presented through Dr. Lesser, physician in ordinary, to the queen on new year's day 1763. In the description of the 25th and last of the groups, he says: "Your majesty's sacred person is standing under a canopy in the form of Virtue and Hope; I, unhappy man, am lying at your feet, in the terrible fetters of 68 pounds' weight, which I have worn here for six years past, and which I am partly still wearing in the tenth year, and imploring your pity."

Trenk's schemes and exertions were not confined solely to the recovery of his personal liberty: he sought also to be revenged on those by whom he was deprived of it. In the winter of 1761, he formed a plan for putting the Austrians, by means of a conspiracy of the prisoners of war confined in Magdeburg, in possession of that fortress, then the last retreat of the royal family. This dangerous plot was discovered, and his situation greatly aggravated. At length, after a dreadful captivity of nine years and five months, incessantly devoted to most laborious but fruitless attempts to escape, he was liberated at Christmas 1763, on the remonstrance of general Ried, the imperial ambassador, who claimed his release as an Austrian officer. Trenk

himself assured Thièbault that he had ascertained after his release that the king had no idea of the manner in which he was treated while in confinement; and he attributed the hardships which he suffered entirely to the resentment of the officers to whose custody he had been committed.

Maria Theresa appointed him major out of service and gave him a considerable compensation, but for some new misconduct she kept him confined for some time at Kuffstein in Tyrol. On recovering his liberty, Trenk led a turbulent and discontented life. At Vienna he was engaged in a tedious course of litigation respecting the property left by his cousin Francis Trenk, which should have descended to him, but which, during his long imprisonment, had been usurped by others. At Aix, Spa, Mannheim, and other places, where he afterwards resided in the various characters of wine-merchant, newspaper editor, and author, he made many enemies by his turbulent disposition and the freedom of his opinions.

It was not till after Frederick's death that Trenk published the truly remarkable memoirs of his life, a medley of truth and romance. The public, he says, in his preface, is fonder of romances and pays better for them than for other works, while he, for his part, is in need of money; and then follow the grossest libels and calumnies against the king, in favour of whom he afterwards published a "True Account of the Life of Baron Trenk, together with some Explanations and Illustrations written by him-

self." In the latter work he says that "many particulars in his Memoirs were carelessly thrown together;" that "both in the Vienna and the Berlin edition there were left blunders which completely murder the work;" but, by way of excusing himself, he admits that he wrote to earn money at a time when he was hard pressed by daily necessity, when he had to find more money for agents than his income would supply, when eight children left him little time for literature, when he was afflicted with illness, and obliged to travel a great deal. He confesses that he related from memory incidents which had occurred forty years before, without having kept any journal, that almost every recollection revolted his heart, and that it was almost impossible for him to write coolly.

The Hessian general Wakenitz, the same officer who behaved so heroically at Zorndorf, but who after the peace fell into disgrace with the king, and to whom Trenk appeals in several passages of his Memoirs, publicly declared that he was not acquainted with any one of the circumstances which Trenk alleges him to have witnessed.

In the "Panegyric at the Grave of Frederick the Great by Frederick Baron Trenk," the orator's ill will occasionally breaks forth: praise and slander are dealt out in turn; but the former predominates; and whoever knows anything of the human heart can easily draw his own conclusion on this much discussed point. "Was not Frederick," he says in this last performance, "my king and at the same

time my great instructor in Berlin? Did I not enjoy his favour and regard in the literary as well as in the military line? It was not my unworthiness, not my behaviour, but my untoward fate, envy, malicious persons alone that destroyed my happiness. The judgment of the acutest of kings was misled, and while he lived I could not find means to convince him of the truth, because monarchs like better to pardon than to reward."

Frederick William II. on his accession restored to Trenk his estates in East Prussia. He had previously married the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Aix la Chapelle, by whom he had a large family, and he might now have lived in comfort: but his restless spirit carried him at the commencement of the French revolution to France, where some indiscreet expressions furnished Robespierre with a pretext for sending him to the guillotine, as an alleged agent of foreign powers, in July 1794.

Trenk possessed inordinate vanity and self-conceit, united with great energy of mind, courage, and perseverance. His fate, perhaps not wholly merited, is the more to be deplored, as, under other circumstances, he would certainly have gained an honourable place among the Prussian generals. The veil of mystery which hangs over him and his fortunes we cannot now expect to be ever entirely withdrawn.

In 1755 Frederick, who had in 1751 paid a first visit to the newly acquired province of East Fries-

land, took a second journey to that remote portion of his dominions. From Emden he proceeded to Wesel, and thence set out with lieutenant-colonel Balbi and a single page, on an excursion to Holland, concerning which some amusing anecdotes are preserved.

The king travelled of course in the strictest incognito. On his arrival at Amsterdam, he wished to speak himself with a banker from whom he had to receive a considerable sum of money. He went therefore to his house, but the banker was not at home. His wife informed him that her husband would probably return soon, and if he chose to step into a room he might wait for him. The king, without making himself known, accepted the offer. At the door of the apartment, the lady politely requested the stranger to take off his shoes. It was to no purpose that he rubbed them upon the mat; he was obliged to submit to the required ceremony. His guide, having ushered her visitor into her drawing-room, left him to his meditations. It was not long before the banker came in. He already knew of the king's arrival, but great was his astonishment and chagrin to see Frederick without shoes. He fell at his feet and begged him to pardon his wife. "Why did your majesty not make yourself known?" he asked. "Make myself known!" replied the king; "no, I took good care not to do that; for the king of Prussia himself would not have exempted me from this little ceremony." Frederick was right. The banker's wife was sent for. "What

have you been about!" exclaimed her husband; "this is the king of Prussia; fall at his majesty's feet, and beg pardon for your rudeness." "Upon my word," said the lady, "I cannot help it,—king or queen, it makes no difference. Don't I pull off my own shoes, though the room belongs to me?"—"And you are quite right," replied the good-natured monarch, adding, as he turned to the banker: "You see how it is, sir. I knew well enough that it was only by my compliance and by preserving my incognito that I should spare the king of Prussia a humiliation."

During his stay in Amsterdam, the king wished to taste a Dutch pasty, which he had heard spoken of as particularly excellent. His companion was directed to order one of the landlady of the house in which they lodged. On this application, the woman eyed him with a look of some contempt from head to foot, and said: "Well, sir, as ye would like to eat a pasty, have ye the money to pay for one?—do ye know that a pasty costs thirty guilders?" Balbi assured the good woman that his companion could easily pay that sum, for he was a virtuoso on the flute, and by playing a few hours he could get plenty of money. She then enquired what a virtuoso was. Balbi explained the meaning of the word, and told her that the stranger was an excellent performer on the flute, who was travelling to make money by his talent. "Oho! then I must hear him," said the hostess. Away she posted to the room where the king was, and, setting both arms a-kimbo, "Sir," said

she, "as ye can pipe so cleverly, will ye just pipe a bit for me?" At this unexpected address, the king was taken rather by surprise; but Balbi told him in a few words what had passed. Frederick cheerfully took up the flute, and played it for some time in his best manner, so that the landlady, delighted with the performance, was fixed to the spot. When he had ceased, she said: "Sure enough, sir, ye can pipe nicely and earn a penny; now I'll go and make ye a pasty."

While in Amsterdam Frederick minutely inspected the dock-yard, harbour, and shipping, and the principal collections of pictures in that city. While viewing one of these collections, he took a fancy to a very valuable picture; but the owner, a merchant, after closely scrutinizing the king and his companion, said that they were not people likely to make such a purchase at a price beyond what the king of Poland and the emperor had declined giving. "Good God," said Balbi angrily, "might we not have a commission too?—from the king of Prussia, for instance?" The Dutchman now completely changed his tone. "Heaven preserve me," said he, "from selling my picture to that atheist king! I will not contribute to the satisfaction of a man who disbelieves in God."

Provided with a snuff-coloured coat, with gold buttons, and a black wig, he left Amsterdam as a travelling musician, in the ordinary treckschuyt for Utrecht, in order to enjoy the view of the beautiful country-seats along the Vecht. He and his

companion had a small cabin to themselves. In the morning, wishing for more society, the king sent Balbi to reconnoitre and see if, among the other passengers, there was any one sufficiently civilized and intelligent to deserve an invitation to breakfast. Balbi executed the commission, and brought back with him a young man of genteel manners, who cheerfully accepted the offer of a breakfast. The party were soon engaged in brisk conversation: at length the king began to question his guest concerning his country, his family, and other personal particulars. For some time the stranger continued to answer these inquiries; but, as he saw no likelihood of an end to them, he became impatient and declared that he thought he had answered questions enough in all conscience for a cut of a pasty. Notwithstanding this rebuke, Frederick was so pleased with his guest that at parting he begged to be furnished with his address. This young man was named Le Cat; he was a native of Switzerland and then an usher in a boarding-school. Three months afterwards, Frederick invited him, not as an itinerant musician but as a sovereign, to enter his service, but illness prevented Le Cat from accepting it. After the battle of Leuthen the king renewed his overtures. Le Cat joined him in 1758 at Breslau, was appointed his reader instead of the abbé de Prades, and was upwards of twenty years about his person.

This trip to Holland is remarkable as one of the very few occasions on which Frederick visited a

foreign country for the mere purpose of pleasure or curiosity. On the 24th of June he reached Wesel on his return, and on the 27th arrived in Potsdam.

Colonel Balbi, the companion of the king in this tour, and who of course was one of the most intimate of his associates, was appointed in 1757 chief of the corps of engineers. After the battle of Kollin, he went, disguised as amtmann, to the camp of the duke of Richelieu, to dispose him to peace by a present of 100,000 dollars. Embittered as the French court was against Frederick, that object was not to be attained, but the Prussian territories were spared as much as possible. After the failure of the siege of Olmütz, Balbi fell into a brief disgrace, but was again admitted into the familiar circle of the king. When rather advanced in years, he became passionately enamoured of a young, beautiful, and accomplished lady, who requited his affection. He was affianced to her, and solicited the king's consent to his marriage. Frederick, contrary to expectation, not only refused it, but made satirical remarks at table on the passion of so old a lover, who was obliged to listen to them with patience.

One day, after the king had been thus indulging his caustic humour, the conversation turned upon a subject respecting which the colonel possessed papers containing the most precise information. These were in his pocket-book. No sooner had he taken it out and opened it, than the king, half playfully, laid hold of it. Along with the papers in question, Balbi had in it several letters from his

lady-love; and, fearing lest the king might find them and make unsparing remarks upon them before the company, he so far forgot himself as to snatch the pocket-book with considerable vehemence from the hand of the monarch. "That is too bad!" cried Frederick angrily, and, quitting the table, retired to an adjoining cabinet. The company broke up in silent dismay: every one set down Balbi for a ruined man. Meanwhile Zeising, who had succeeded Fredersdorf in his influence and office of confidential valet, entered the room to carry the king his coffee. The unfortunate colonel informed him of what had happened, and begged him to solicit permission that he might but once more speak to the king and implore his pardon; for he was determined to lie at the threshold of the door like a dog, till the king should either listen to him or spurn him from it. Zeising promised to do his best, and went into the cabinet. When he had repeated the colonel's words, Frederick seemed to be appeased and ordered the supplicant to be admitted. Balbi threw himself at the king's feet. "Sire," said he, "I have grievously misbehaved; but I acknowledge my fault with deep contrition. Here is my pocket-book: it is just in the same state as when I snatched it so rudely out of your hands. It contains nothing that can criminate me—nothing but some letters from the lady to whom I am affianced." Frederick looked at the pocket-book, as though disposed to ascertain the truth of the colonel's asseveration, smiled, and returned it to him, saying: "Well, well;

all is forgiven and forgotten." He then ordered another cup to be brought, and made the colonel take coffee with him, which was an extraordinary token of favour. In the evening, the king's guests were astonished to find Balbi in Frederick's apartment as usual: they marvelled at his impudence, and kept aloof from him. There he stood by himself at the furthest corner of the room. The king entered, and perceived the state of the case at the first glance. Walking straight to the colonel, he took him by the arm, led him to a window, and there conversed with him a considerable time, before he turned to the other persons. The circle of Frederick's friends was diminished by Balbi's death in 1779.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Attention of the King to the internal prosperity of his Country.—His Encouragement of Agriculture, Colonisation, and the improvement of the Breeds of Cattle.—Diffusion of the Potato.—Frederick's Influence on Horticulture.—State of Manufactures and Industry in Prussia.—Means employed by the King to improve them.—System of Prohibitions in Trade.—Inland Navigation.—Emden declared a free Port.—Commercial Companies established there.—Frederick's Patronage of the Fine Arts.—The Italian Opera.—Performers.—Barbarina.—Royal Picture Gallery.—Portraits of the King.—Reform of the Administration of Justice.—The Codus Fridericianus.—Its spirit.—The Chancellor Cocceji.—The Halsgericht.—Case of Kaatz.—Case of Murder which is alleged to have occasioned the Abolition of Torture in Prussia.

THE years of peace were not wasted by Frederick in useless and idle pleasures; the hours passed in social enjoyment were not subtracted from the time which should have been devoted to the duties of government; but his attention was steadily directed to the encouragement of those pursuits which render a state strong and flourishing; to the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, arts, and commerce; and to the creation of a military force adequate to any probable contingency.

As Cicero considers nothing better, nothing more worthy of a free man, than the cultivation of the soil, so Frederick regarded husbandmen as the most useful class of society. His paternal care for this class was manifested in the many districts

which he brought into tillage and colonized. In 1740 he found in the electorate of Brandenburg 1317 wastes, which had lain uncultivated ever since the thirty years' war: and, though he was from the first moment of his reign solicitous to attract foreigners into the country, yet the epochs of the two Silesian wars were not favourable to the increase of the population. But the succeeding years of peace were assiduously devoted to this object; and we know from the works of the king that, only from 1746 to 1756, 280 new villages were erected. According to Herzberg's statements, he built in the course of his whole reign upwards of 600 new villages, transplanted to them 42,600 foreign families, or about 215,000 souls, exclusively of the establishments of the same kind founded on their own estates by gentlemen and land-owners, for which they received from him more than a million dollars in presents and remitted payments.

And, as the father of his country, how sublime does Frederick appear among these his new children! When the works in the Lower Oder marshes were completed, and the villages built and peopled, the king, on one of his reviewing tours, directed the two commissioners to meet him at Freienwalde. After he had inquired into the minutest details and received the most satisfactory answers, he thanked them, with the affability peculiar to himself, for the zeal which they had displayed. Meanwhile a great number of the colonists whom he had settled there assembled. Their gra-

titude was not expressed in noisy acclamations. In respectful silence, with evident signs of inward content, decently clad, with wives and children, they gazed on their illustrious benefactor. To him it was a touching sight. His eye first dwelt on this concourse of people, whose looks bespoke their happiness, then turned to the rich and fertile country, studded with villages and covered with cattle, and he exclaimed with deep emotion, "I have gained a province!" The same royal sentiment he had expressed while inspecting the progress of the works for draining the same marsh. He declared that he was resolved to people his share with foreign colonists; when a gentleman who stood by remarked what fine and productive farms might be made out of the reclaimed land. "Were I a gentleman, like you," said Frederick, with one of his searching looks, "I should think as you do; but since I am a king, I must have subjects."

In like manner, the king's attention was invariably directed to the improvement of the breeds of cattle and the operations of agriculture. Frederick was the first in Germany who thought of crossing the native breed of sheep with the Spanish merino. Though the first attempt produced no particular result, owing to ignorance of the proper treatment of the Spanish rams, the king was not discouraged, and procured a second lot of them before the seven years' war. This example was indeed lost upon the Prussian agriculturists, and

the king did not take up the subject again till towards the conclusion of his life, when, on the proposal of the minister Heinitz, he allotted the sum of 22,000 dollars for the purchase of rams and ewes in Africa, Spain, and England; and it was no fault of Frederick's if his hopes on this point were not realised till long after he had quitted the stage of life.

To him Prussia is also indebted for the cultivation of mulberry-trees and silkworms, tobacco, and dyeing herbs; and the introduction of stall-feeding, marling, and growing green crops for manure. He consolidated the loose sands, by sowing them with pine-seed and enclosing them with hedges. He encouraged all improved methods and processes; sent experienced agriculturists to travel at his expence in England, Holland, and other countries; and invited skilful foreigners to superintend the crown domains. The convents and religious foundations in Silesia were obliged to make improvements in their extensive possessions, and the new-elected abbots were not confirmed by the king till they had promised to plant vines, oaks, mulberry-trees, and potatoes; to keep bees; to separate the long-woolled sheep from the others, and to import East Friesland cows. Various edicts enjoined the cultivation of fruit-trees, and, according to one issued in 1756, the high-roads were to be bordered with them.

It is incredible what trouble the diffusion of the potato gave to the authorities. Berlin was the first

place in Germany where that root was grown, in consequence of the frequent intercourse with Holland at the time of the Great Elector: but, as a general article of food, it came very slowly into use. Frederick William I., to whom the potato was a new acquaintance, applied it to the subsistence of the paupers and the sick in the Charité, and gave the hospital a piece of ground for its cultivation. Finding example of no effect, the king attacked the prejudices entertained against it by force, but with no better success. Frederick directed his efforts to the same object. In 1745, after the great dearth, he sent a waggon-load of potatoes as a present to Colberg. All the possessors of gardens were called together to receive the new root, and to hear the instructions for its cultivation read to them. But people slighted the gift, and of course were not particularly successful in its unwilling cultivation. The king, nevertheless, repeated his present in the following year; and sent an overseer acquainted with the management of the root to assist in its cultivation. Thus the potato spread slowly through Pomerania, whence it was carried by the Swedish army to their country. In Silesia, Schlabrendorf, the minister, had to force it upon the people during the distresses occasioned by the seven years' war; while the neighbouring parts of Bohemia received it more willingly, and called it Brambory, Brandenburger, after the country from which it came to them. At a later period, the people of the New Mark were not to be compelled but by criminal process to

the cultivation of the root, till the dearth in the years 1770 and 1771 put an end to the potato war, and rendered sermons in recommendation of the useful vegetable superfluous.

Frederick's fondness for all the finer sorts of fruit had a great influence on horticulture. The celebrated hot-houses at Potsdam raised many previously unknown species of fruit, which gradually found their way into private gardens. In this manner, the melon and the pine-apple have gradually became more common. The ambassadors at foreign courts were required to transmit plants and seeds to the king; and between the years 1760 and 1770, major Zegelin, in particular, frequently sent from Constantinople large white fig-trees of Damascus, fig-trees and vines of Smyrna, fig-trees from Tauria, orange-trees of the best sorts, seeds of the Aleppo water-melon, and other similar articles.

In 1740, the Prussian monarchy was still in a state of infancy in regard to manufactures and industry. While manufactures had attained a high degree of perfection in England, France, Switzerland, and even in many German states, for instance Saxony, Prussia was absolutely destitute of many, and those which did exist were inadequate to the supply of the home consumption. It was not only without such manufactures as produce objects of luxury, for example, silks and velvets, crape and gauze, cotton, porcelain, mirrors, gold and silver leaf, watches, catgut, snuff, and establishments for wax-bleaching and sugar-boiling; but it lacked even

many whose productions belong to the most necessary articles of life, such as manufactures of leather, iron, steel, needles, sail-cloths, metal buttons, starch, and paper. In many places there was not a sufficient number of persons of different professions, such as tanners, soap-boilers, cutlers, dyers; nay, so extinct was the spirit of enterprise in Prussian subjects, that businesses requiring a capital of only a few hundred or a thousand dollars, for instance, the making of common tobacco-pipes, marble and gold paper, wafers, vinegar, white lead, starch, corks, snuff-boxes, found no speculators. The manufacturers who were in business had no notion of extending their concerns. Thus Frederick first directed the attention of the looking-glass manufacturers to the making of pocket mirrors, which had an extensive sale; and the glass-blowers to the production of physic-phials.

Under these circumstances, if the king wished to animate his country by industry, he had no way left but to stimulate manufactures and trade by all possible means, by premiums, gratuities, privileges, and advances of ready money, and thus to infuse new life into them. According to Rödenbeck, the Electoral Mark alone received assistance in this way to the amount of two millions and a half of dollars between the years 1740 and 1780; and the same writer gives a list of seventy-one establishments of different kinds which were either founded by Frederick, or received assistance from him. Though it was not till after the seven years' war

that manufactures and industry became flourishing, still the foundation of their prosperity had been laid at an earlier period.

In short, wherever industry and trade were to be set in motion by encouragement, there new sources were opened; and such was the increase in the prosperity of the country that, without any augmentation of the taxes, and exclusively of the produce of Silesia, the revenue was increased by 1,200,000 dollars; while at the same time the population in all the provinces had risen to five millions; consequently, as the king adds in his History of the seven years' war, "since nothing is more certain than that the number of subjects constitutes the wealth of the state, Prussia might be considered twice as strong as she was in the last years of the reign of Frederick William I."

As to Frederick's maxims in regard to trade, many superficial opinions and censures have been passed upon them. Owing to his measures for the promotion of home manufactures, his system could be no other than that of prohibitions. At that period this system was universal throughout Germany. In his dominions Frederick made no material alteration, merely restricting the import of such articles as his country itself produced and manufactured, and the export of those commodities from the deficiency of which a stoppage of internal trade, or a rise in price and value, to the detriment of the community at large, would have arisen. Though it is now-a-days the fashion to preach up perfect

freedom of trade in works on political economy, still, in practice, it has every where been found expedient to continue certain restrictions in favour of domestic manufactures, or to prevent other inconveniences. It is unfair therefore to blame the great king, because he was induced, for the encouragement of industry, then in its infancy, to prohibit many an article of commerce, and to circumscribe the activity of the mercantile class.

Frederick, moreover, like all the political economists of his time, who defined wealth to be the possession of specie, was strongly swayed by the idea of a profitable balance of trade and the notion that increasing poverty must be the necessary result of the efflux of specie from the country; but whoever accuses him, more particularly on account of his later financial regulations, of avarice, selfishness, or fondness for money, is unacquainted with Frederick's system of political economy; with his incessant efforts to promote the prosperity of the state by means of the revenues derived from it; with the fact that, from 1763 to 1783, he distributed among his subjects forty millions of dollars in extraordinary donations.

But it will be more to the purpose to show what Frederick did for the promotion and encouragement of trade during the ten years of peace preceding 1756, than to enter into a discussion of principles and to carp at measures adapted to the times, and the beneficial results of which it is impossible to deny. In the first place, he facilitated inland

traffic by connecting the larger rivers by means of canals, such as the Finow and Plauen canals, which have been already mentioned, the Templin canal for the conveyance of the produce of the Uckermark to the capital, the Sterkow canal, for supplying it with fuel, and the new Oder canal, originally made for draining the marshes near that river, but by which the whole traffic upon it is now carried on, the accumulation of sand having rendered the old arm of the Oder unnavigable.

On the Baltic, the port of Swinemunde was founded in 1746, and in the succeeding years the harbours on that sea were put into good condition. The tolls on inland navigation were in various instances reduced, and the consequence was an extraordinary increase in the traffic carried on between the different provinces of the kingdom.

In 1750 there was established at Emden under Frederick's protection an Asiatic Commercial Company, which was authorized by charter to trade under the Prussian flag for fifteen years. The efforts of the Great Elector to benefit his hereditary dominions, having an extent of coast of nearly four hundred miles along the Baltic, by his support of an African Commercial Company, had been gradually neutralised through the supineness of his successors, till, in 1720, Frederick William I. was induced by the Dutch to dissolve that institution and to dispose of his African possessions. The acquisition of East Friesland, with the excellent port of Emden, appeared a favourable opportunity

for infusing new life into the maritime commerce of Prussia. In 1751 Frederick declared it a free port, and he decreed, in favour of the new joint-stock commercial company founded there that, "in case war should break out in Europe, sooner or later, the capitals of the subjects of the belligerent powers vested in this company should remain intact and neither be confiscated nor sequestrated." In addition to the principal object of the company, the trade with China, it was to equip vessels for the whale, herring, and cod fishery, to employ two small vessels for the traffic upon the Elbe between Hamburg and Berlin, and to export productions of the country from Königsberg.

Among other privileges granted to the Emden company, it was authorised by its charter to arm in time of war against the king's enemies and to retain all prizes; any conquests that it might make were declared its sole property; but, in case it should discover mines, it was required "to present the king with a gold crown weighing one hundred marks." As a mark of gold makes thirty-six ducats, such a crown would of course have been worth £1800 of our money.

The first ship sent out by this company was the King of Prussia, which sailed from Emden in February 1752, and it was on board this vessel that the Prussian flag first waved in the road of Canton in the following August. She returned to Emden on the 6th of July 1753. Meanwhile a second ship, the Emden Castle, had sailed in September

1752 for the same destination; in May 1754 she brought back a valuable cargo to East Friesland. The company's third ship performed the like voyage between December 1753 and July 1755. The first two vessels had each made another voyage, when the war broke out and put a complete stop to the proceedings of the company.

A second joint-stock company called the Royal African Commercial Company, founded in 1750 at Emden by a Mr. Stuart, likewise obtained various privileges, but could not cope with so powerful a rival. A third company formed at Emden, and to which in January 1753 the king granted a charter to trade to the East Indies and Bengal for twenty years, lost in 1756 the first ship which it sent out, and which was wrecked through the fault of her captain named Clinkert; and the company itself was soon afterwards broken up in consequence of the perils and confusion incident to the war. Speculations of this nature undertaken by Prussian subjects had to contend with various difficulties, arising partly from the want of markets for their return cargoes, partly from the superior advantages enjoyed by the maritime states, England, France, and Holland, owing to their situation, colonial possessions, wealth, and spirit of enterprize.

Frederick moreover protected the commerce of his subjects as much as possible by treaties with the maritime powers; supported the system of neutrality in 1744 in the war between England and France; and in 1753 concluded a convention with

the latter respecting the reciprocal commerce between Prussia and that country.

While Frederick fostered and cherished the useful arts in every possible way, those which tend to the polish and amusement of civilized life were not neglected. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he set about the establishment of an Italian opera in the private theatre of the palace. The first opera performed there was Rodelinde, queen of the Lombards, by Graun, in December 1741. Before the arrival of the French company of actors, the persons belonging to the court performed plays themselves; but it was the Italian opera that always had the strongest interest for the king. He was fond of composing both music and texts for the stage; the poems for the operas he always selected himself; he frequently composed them himself, and then had them versified by the Italian poet laureate. Occasionally, he furnished the ideas for the music, for which the composer did not thank him; and on this account Graun would rather write church music than operas. For Keyserling's marriage, in November 1742, Frederick furnished a comedy in three acts, the School of the World.

In 1741, Farinella and Laura were engaged as singers for the royal opera; and in 1747, Joanna Astrua, a rival of Carestini's and Salimbeni's, was appointed, with a salary of 6000 dollars. Among the dancers, Roland and the almost deified Barbarina were most prominent. The latter had excited

admiration and amassed wealth by her art, in Paris, London, and Venice, before she appeared in Berlin in 1744. The charms of her person and the accomplishments of her mind gained her a thousand admirers; and the king himself sometimes did her the honour to sup at her house with a small select party. She had a salary of five thousand dollars. Among the most devoted of her admirers was baron Cocceji, son of the chancellor, a man of gigantic stature and strength, who, whenever she was to dance, procured a place as close to the stage as he could. Another inamorato of her's, the son of a banker, was accustomed to do the same; and thus it occasionally happened that the two were seated beside one another. One evening, Cocceji imagined that the fair dancer cast kinder glances at his rival than himself. Inflamed with jealous rage, he suddenly grasped his puny neighbour, while absorbed in the contemplation of the beloved object, raised him in his brawny arms like a child, and flung him over the orchestra upon the stage. As soon as the young banker could pick himself up, he limped to the front of the stage to apologise for his unexpected appearance there. "It is not my fault," said he. "I was flung here by the councillor of legation Cocceji." With these words, he hobbled away behind the wings, amidst the laughter of the spectators. The proceeding excited a general sensation, but, the public, following the example of the king, remained quiet, and the performance went on without interruption. The chancellor heard of the

circumstance the same evening. Next morning, he drove to the palace and solicited an audience. "Sire," said he, with tremulous voice, "I come as a most unhappy father, deeply chagrined at the misconduct of my son, who committed last night in your majesty's presence an outrage which I dare scarcely venture to think of. Such a violation of respect for your majesty and of decency towards the polished part of the public deserves the severest reprehension; and the only favour I have to implore of your majesty is not to visit such a flagrant transgression upon me, but to award exemplary punishment to the culprit." The king listened quietly to him. "Make yourself quite easy, my dear Cocceji," said he, in a tone of kindness, "how can you help it? But your wish shall be granted. I'll send the hot-headed fellow to a fortress, where he will learn to behave better." Cocceji thanked the king for his gracious intention, and went home with a lighter heart; but presently afterwards arrived, to his utter astonishment, an order for the young councillor of legation to set out immediately for Glogau, with the appointment of privy-councillor of justice. He afterwards married the fair Barbarina, but the union was not a happy one; they were divorced in 1789, and the lady was created countess by the name of Campanini. She bequeathed her estates in Silesia to a foundation for young ladies which still subsists.

Anterior to the seven years' war, the king bought in preference pictures by the masters of

France and the Netherlands, especially Rubens and Vandyk: at a later period of life, he preferred the Italians. In fact, the whole gallery of Sans-Souci, which was ordered to be built in 1755, contained only seven French pictures and not one of the German school, among 172: the productions of Italians and Netherlanders constituted the staple of the collection. In later years Frederick employed native artists. In the early part of his reign, he gave many commissions to Pesne, who produced the best portraits of the king. It is a singular fact that Frederick never sat to any artist, though he frequently made presents of his portrait to friends, relatives; and foreign sovereigns, and also had it attached to gold snuff-boxes. Pesne's best painting of the king has been engraved by Schmidt and Wille.

We have seen that Frederick, at the moment of mounting the throne, issued some noble ordinances relative to the administration of justice. He has expressed himself on various occasions to this effect: that it behoves the sovereign, agreeably to his vocation, to be in the first place the magistrate, in the next the warrior; that the maintenance of the laws is the only motive which induced men to give themselves rulers, because that is the true origin of sovereignty. Accordingly, his attention was earnestly directed to the improvement of the administration of justice, as well as of every department of government. Before his time, the sovereigns had been accustomed to interfere, very

often aggravating or mitigating the sentences of the courts. Disapproving this practice of his ancestors, Frederick resolved to abstain from passing judgment himself; and numberless cabinet orders are extant, by which he referred to the courts complaints made immediately to him, and manifested the strongest displeasure at arbitrary decisions in matters of justice. The very few cases in which he deviated from this sacred principle are exceptions, which have often been approved and even praised. His predominant wish was to do away with all party favour, to shorten suits, and to mitigate punishments. But, conceiving that he should not be able to extirpate by individual orders and wishes the crying abuses arising from chicanery, quirks, and delay of justice, he proceeded in 1746 to a complete reform.

The distinguished lawyer whom the king chiefly employed in this reform of justice was the high-chancellor Cocceji, who was descended from an ancient family of jurists, and who, as president of the Kammergericht, had long entertained projects of reformation, without being able to carry them into execution. He was always baffled by insuperable obstacles, so that he was nearly seventy years old before he was in a position to realise his ideas. The king himself now laid before the patriotic chancellor eighteen points for the important undertaking, and, in September 1747, Cocceji fell to work with youthful enthusiasm. He called to his assistance Jariges, councillor of revision, and in the course of a year the "Project of the Codex Fride-

ricianus Marchicus," according to which all processes and suits were to be finished in a year, was promulgated.

That this innovation was far from being agreeable to everybody, Frederick was fated to learn from experience. A litigious nobleman of Pomerania wrote to him that "he could not live without lawsuits, because he had always been accustomed to that sort of pastime. As he wished to keep a few of them on his hands, he hoped that his majesty would not be too strict in regard to the new regulations." The evil which these regulations were intended to correct being greatest in Pomerania, and most suits pending there, Cocceji commenced the reform in that province. The consequence was that, in the first eight months, 2400 old suits were brought to a conclusion, and of the new ones none of above a year's standing remained undecided. This signal success excited such interest throughout Germany, that several princes sent lawyers to Berlin, to make themselves acquainted with the new system.

The king gave the force of law to this work only *ad interim* as a project or sketch; because he wished to hear the remarks of the states, the regencies, and scholars upon it, intending then to make it the general law for the whole Prussian monarchy. Such *monita*, or remarks, were actually furnished by several of the colleges, and a board of revision was formed: but, though its labours were continued till after the seven years' war, the *Codex revisus*, as it was called, never saw the light.

The spirit which pervades the Codex Fridericianus may be clearly inferred from the 14th and 15th articles, which enjoin the tribunals "to administer equal and impartial justice to all men, without respect of persons, great and small, rich and poor, as they expect to account for it before the just judgment-seat of God, that the sighs of widows, and orphans, and other oppressed persons may not come upon their heads and those of their children. They shall not take the least notice of any rescripts, even though emanating from our cabinet, if there is in them anything contrary to the public right, or if the strict course of justice is thereby prevented or interrupted." In another place, Frederick, who was destined to be so often importuned to issue arbitrary decisions, declares beforehand every one of his orders, by which the legal course of justice would be changed, to be surreptitious, null, and therefore of no effect.

Cocceji's reform, for which Frederick had, as it were, prepared the people by his essay "On the Motives for introducing and abolishing Laws," related to civil justice only. In Silesia the subsisting penal laws were retained, but from that country the ancient cruelty was banished by the humane clemency of Frederick's government.

The regulations relative to suits and processes were intended to be followed by a general body of law founded on reason and the institutions of the country. In 1749 Cocceji actually published the first part of his "Project of the Corpus Juris

Fridericiani," which contained the law relative to persons, in three books: the second part, which appeared in 1751, comprehended in eight books the law relating to things. The work was so far from being satisfactory that only particular portions of it obtained the force of law. The king, nevertheless, honoured the integrity, the judgment, and the indefatigable activity of his wise chancellor in every possible way. On appointing him to the chancellorship, he conferred on him the order of the Black Eagle, created him a baron, gave him a fine estate in the duchy of Cleves; sent him in 1748 the gold medal struck to commemorate the reform of justice, with the inscription EMENDATO JURE; erected to him after his death in 1755 a marble bust in the court of the Kammergericht, and mentioned him in the highest terms in his printed works. His successor, Jariges, enjoyed the entire favour of his master; but Frederick kept a vigilant eye upon the administration of justice. In 1750 he increased the punishment which Freudenreich, the highwayman was adjudged to suffer from two years' to ten years' labour at the fortifications; whereas in 1753 he mitigated the sentence of six years' labour pronounced upon a poacher as wholly disproportionate; and at the same time impressed most earnestly upon Bismark, minister of justice, the expediency of a scrupulous adaptation of punishments to crimes.

In externals Frederick permitted justice to retain many antiquated forms. Thus, agreeably to a rescript

of March 30, 1751, advocates were, according to previous ordinances, not allowed to appear before a court but in black clothes and gown. In like manner, the Halsgericht, as it was called, sat in several places during his reign, and lastly in Berlin, on the 15th of August 1786, in the case of Höpner the incendiary, of Landsberg on the Wartha. This Halsgericht was properly speaking the last solemn act of a criminal process. It was originally the chief court of justice. It is held in the open air, the judges, dressed in black, sitting at a table covered with the same colour. An accuser comes forward; the culprit, whose sentence has been notified to him in the prison, is again questioned, that he may still seek to defend himself. If he confesses his guilt or is declared to be convicted, his sentence is again read to him, and the original is shown to the executioner, to whom the criminal is delivered. The court is then dissolved, the chairs are thrown down, and the judge breaks his staff.

But still more striking, perhaps, than the cases just mentioned, was the outlawry of John Henry Kaatz, a robber, who had been the terror of Minden and its environs. This man, having escaped a second time from the fortress of Wesel, the regency of Minden proposed to the king for the safety of the country to declare this bold and dangerous villain an outlaw. Under the circumstances, Frederick had no hesitation to order the chancellor to give the necessary directions; upon which Cocceji, on the 29th of November 1752, declared Kaatz the

robber and murderer, a native of Schlüsselberg, thirty odd years old, according to the customary formula, "banned and unhomed, put out of peace into non-peace, and his body and life placed like a bird in the air at the disposal of every one;" prohibited all subjects to hold communion with him, and on the contrary permitted them, "wherever they found him, to slay and put him to death with impunity." In spite of this denunciation, Kaatz haunted for several years the vicinity of Schlüsselburg, and then fixed his abode in a village of Oldenburg, a few leagues from Bremen, where he closed his life as a schoolmaster.

I have already related in the proper place that one of Frederick's first ordinances, nay perhaps the very first that he issued, for it was dated the 3rd of June 1740, decreed the abolition of the torture. The immediate occasion of this measure is said to have been the following circumstance.

A public house in Alexander Place, Berlin, was kept by a childless widow, and the only person who lodged in it besides herself was a poor candidate of divinity, who earned a scanty subsistence by giving instructions from morning till night to the children of respectable citizens in the rudiments of Latin, geography, history, writing, and arithmetic. One morning, the widow did not make her appearance as usual: this excited alarm, and when her chamber door was opened, she was found dead in her bed. A cord round her neck left no doubt that she had been strangled. When the circumstance was re-

ported to the authorities, they immediately summoned before them the only lodger of the deceased, the candidate, to examine him, and to learn whether he could give any information that might lead to the apprehension of the murderer.

But the candidate's room was locked too, and he was not to be found. In a few hours he returned to his lodging. He was immediately taken before the judge, and examined concerning the murder. He declared that he could not give the least information on the subject, as he had not been at home all night. Being asked where he had passed the night, he replied that on the preceding day he had paid a visit to a country clergyman some [German] miles from Berlin, and left him in the evening intending to be back in good time; but that he had missed his way in the dark and been obliged to pass the night in the fields. Being unable to furnish any satisfactory evidence as to the place where this happened, he was suspected of the murder, and immediately apprehended and accused of the deed. He denied it firmly. No regard was paid to this, and the torture was applied in order to force a confession. At the first degree, overcome by the agony, he begged to be spared, and acknowledged that he was the murderer.

The report of these circumstances soon spread over the whole city. All who knew the candidate as a teacher felt a great regard for him, on account of his irreproachable conduct, his gentle manners, and his affectionate treatment of his pupils. They

were quite astounded. They deemed him absolutely incapable of such a crime, and resolved to send a deputation to Cocceji, who was then minister of justice, to represent to him that it was extremely probable, considering the unimpeachable character which the candidate had maintained all his life, that his confession had only been wrung from him by the pangs of the torture, and that it was not founded on truth. Cocceji gave a patient hearing to the deputies, and dismissed them with the assurance that their hints should be attended to. He did not stop there; but immediately ordered all the documents relative to the murder and to the examinations of the candidate to be sent to him.

On an attentive perusal, he found that no proper inquiry had yet been made to ascertain whether the widow might not have strangled herself. To this end he gave directions for an examination of the corpse, which, according to the practice then prevailing, had not been touched. The executioner of Berlin was ordered to attend this examination, that he might give his opinion respecting the strangling. He remarked that the knot upon the cord was a *professional* one. Cocceji was struck by this expression. He sent for the man, and asked him what he meant by the word *professional*. "It is a particular way," said he, "that we have of tying a knot upon a cord, when we have to hang a thief, to put him the sooner out of his misery."—"Is there then any particular art in it?" asked Cocceji. "Certainly not," rejoined the executioner, "but it

is a knack which is known only to those who belong to the profession."

On due consideration of this circumstance, the minister directed inquiry to be made whether executioners from other places or their assistants had been in Berlin about that time. It was soon ascertained that two assistants of the executioner of Spandau had come to Berlin, in the evening of the day before the discovery of the murder. They were own brothers of the deceased. He ordered them to be apprehended, and they confessed the fact. They had strangled their sister that, as her next heirs, they might obtain possession of her property.

We are told that when Cocceji reported this case to the king, it made such an impression upon him, that he immediately issued the ordinance strictly forbidding the application of the torture. It may be well to add that the authenticity of this story, though admitted by most writers, is doubted by some; but, as it appears to me to involve no improbability or inconsistency, I have thought it right to lay it before the reader.

CHAPTER XXV.

Hostile Demonstrations of Austria.—Frederick's Contempt for the Marquise de Pompadour and Louis XV.—Personal Antipathy of Elisabeth, empress of Russia to the King.—Political State of Europe.—The Hostilities in North America between England and France, the true Origin of the Seven Years' War.—Frederick concludes a Treaty of Alliance with England.—Treaty between France and Austria.—Preparations of Austria and Russia for war against Frederick.—He obtains secret information of all the Designs of his Enemies.—His Interviews with Sir Andrew Mitchell, the new English Ambassador.—Evasive Replies of Maria Theresa to the King's demand of explanations.—Frederick's Reconciliation with Field-marshal Schwerin; and with General Zieten.—In a conference with Schwerin, and Generals Winterfeld and Retzow, he communicates his determination to open the Campaign forthwith.—Sir Andrew Mitchell; his Character.

DURING these years of peace, Frederick was too sagacious a politician to neglect the means of increasing his military strength. The army, augmented to 160,000 men, was improved and trained to the highest state of discipline; fortresses were built and repaired; and ample stores of all the munitions of war were provided. The wisdom of these precautions became more and more manifest. While the king was daily infusing fresh life into all the provinces of his dominions, and acquiring for Berlin the appellation of the German Athens, Maria Theresa, on her part, was also engaged in works worthy of a great sovereign. A new impulse

was given to the development of the military force of Austria, and, to impart harmony to the whole administration, count Kaunitz was placed at the head of it in 1753. This extraordinary man conducted not only all the foreign political affairs of the Austrian cabinet, till the period of the French revolution, but had an equal influence over the internal concerns of the monarchy; so that the empress herself adopted his measures sometimes against her own wishes and convictions. In regard to Prussia the views of both exactly coincided. Long before he was placed at the head of the cabinet, the efforts of Kaunitz had been exerted for the injury of Prussia. Maria Theresa could not forget Silesia, which was so prosperous under the new sceptre. The treaties of Berlin and Dresden were only a compulsory armistice, and she hoped by means of powerful alliances to reconquer the lost province. Nay her endeavours, supported by England, delayed the guarantee of the treaty of Berlin by the court of St. Petersburg, and no sooner was a general peace concluded at Aix la Chapelle than she made overtures to Blondel, the French ambassador in Vienna, to which however, the court of France, adhering to its old political system, and being pacifically disposed, would not listen; it even declined the offer of Flanders and Brabant, made by the house of Habsburg, if it would prevail upon Prussia to cede Silesia. But when, in December 1750, the marquis d'Hautefort was sent as ambassador to Vienna, and Kaunitz to Paris, a closer

connection took place between the two courts. The marquise de Pompadour, the profligate and licentious mistress of Louis XV., was gained, and things wore an aspect most favourable to the views of the Austrian cabinet.

It is probable that Frederick, had he been so disposed, might himself have won the cabinet of Versailles; for in 1750, when Voltaire came to Potsdam, he brought with him the most flattering homage from the all-powerful mistress of his sovereign. "I don't know her," was the reply of the philosopher of Sans-Souci; "this is not the country of the Lingam." Baron Knyphausen, the Prussian ambassador, was the only diplomatist, who, by command of his master, never visited the marquise. Very different was the conduct of the court of Vienna. Maria Theresa demeaned herself so far as to write to the favourite with her own hand; to call her "princess" and "cousin," nay even her "dear sister"—for the object was Silesia, revenge upon the most dangerous of her enemies;—and these flatteries had the desired effect. The influence of Prussia with the French cabinet gradually declined; and Louis XV. was gratified by the prospect of humbling Frederick, and controlling, jointly with Austria, the destinies of Europe. It must be confessed that the great king, in the feeling of his personal superiority, paid too little regard to circumstances that might have been advantageous to him: in conversation, in letters, in poems, nay even in diplomatic correspondence, he gave free

scope to his sarcasms; he everywhere pronounced, as a servant of that Muse who sits in judgment on the world, condemnation upon bad princes and their assistants. For Louis XV. he had such a thorough contempt that he used to divide his reign, in reference to his three principal mistresses, into Cotillon 1, 2, and 3. No wonder that the heretic king became an object of detestation on the banks of the Seine.

Elisabeth, empress of Russia, had likewise a personal antipathy to the Prussian monarch. He had warned her predecessor, the empress Anne, against the designs of Elisabeth, who soon afterwards actually hurled the former from the throne. But this was not the only cause of offence given by Frederick to the latter, whose enmity was roused in a still greater degree by the satirical remarks in which he indulged on her licentious intrigues. The king had a very handsome hussar among the immediate attendants on his person. One day, this man entered his apartment while Frederick was conversing with a French gentleman. "That," said the king jocosely, "is the handsomest fellow in my dominions; I am going to send him as ambassador to Russia." The courts of Austria and Saxony took good care that the empress should be informed of such sallies, and she never forgot them. Bestuchef, the chancellor, was an inveterate enemy of Frederick's, and it was he who brought about in May 1746 the remarkable treaty between the imperial courts of Russia and Germany. That treaty,

concluded only twenty weeks after the peace of Dresden, aimed at nothing less than the utter destruction of Frederick and the Prussian monarchy. The fourth *secret* article expressly stipulated that, in case Frederick should attack Austria, Poland, or Russia, Maria Theresa should not only have a right to recover Silesia, but that she should be assisted by 60,000 Russian auxiliaries. In the poems of the king of Prussia, Bestuchef is described as one of the most atrocious villains; and all his attacks on the minister are coupled with the severest remarks on Russia and the empress herself. Hence Kaunitz found it an easy task to bring the court of Petersburg into his views; and Frederick, who was a sharp-sighted politician, might easily foresee the course which those great powers would pursue whenever the storm should burst.

He himself could reckon upon little external aid. Spain was attached to France, Saxony to Austria. Frederick Augustus could not forget the peace of Dresden; he and his minister count Brühl form, before Frederick's tribunal, the counterpart to Elisabeth and Bestuchef. Poland, long sunk in a mortal lethargy, took no part in the political affairs of Europe; but Sweden, the senate of which was favourably disposed towards the Prussian monarch, would fain have increased her possessions in Pomerania. Denmark was bent on peace, let what would happen. Holland, since the death of the stadtholder, William IV., in 1751, was of little importance. Portugal, as the satellite of Great

Britain, pursued her quiet course, and was mourning the partial destruction of her capital. The Swiss were satisfied with the laurels won in the golden age of their republic; and from Italy neither good nor harm could be expected. Of the minor princes of Germany, several, besides Saxony, were influenced by Austria; some few were closely connected with Prussia; others, bought by English gold, were favourable to the court of Berlin, when the British cabinet thought fit to espouse Frederick's cause.

Thus the political horizon of Europe became more and more overcast. Meanwhile, the ultimate decision of the approaching severe contest proceeded from the new world, for which the seven years' war produced incalculable results. The peace of Aix la Chapelle, which reconciled the houses of Habsburg and Bourbon, left undecided claims between France and England beyond the Atlantic. Nova Scotia had been ceded by the peace of Utrecht to England; its boundaries were a disputed point; so were those of Canada, which the court of Versailles wished to connect with Louisiana. To this end France erected forts on the Ohio. These seemed to threaten the safety of the English colonies, especially Virginia. The plenipotentiaries of both powers had been striving for years to settle these differences, but in vain. The English then resolved to right themselves; and in June 1755 admiral Boscawen took two French ships of the line off Newfoundland. This was the

commencement of hostilities between France and England, the spark which kindled the seven years' war in Germany.

The treaty of Prussia with France was to expire in June 1756. The king made proposals through baron Knyphausen, for a new alliance against England. D'Argenson, minister at war and some other influential persons were in favour of the measure, and the duke de Nivernois was appointed in July 1755, as ambassador extraordinary to Berlin. "The king of France," says Voltaire, "anxious to conciliate Frederick, sent to him the duke de Nivernois, a man of talent, and who himself wrote pretty verses. The embassy of a duke and peer, as well as a poet, would, it was thought, flatter the vanity and the taste of Frederick. But the latter laughed at the king of France; signed his treaty with England, the very day the ambassador arrived in Berlin, played off with great civility the duke and peer, and wrote an epigram against the poet."

These few lines show in a striking manner how Voltaire in all his writings, was incessantly straining at effect and how regardless he was of truth, even in matters of history; for the fact is that, though the duke did not set out on his mission till December, the treaty between Prussia and England was not signed in London before the 16th of January 1756. The ratification of this treaty, indeed, arrived in Berlin during the residence of the French ambassador, in that city. He had been instructed by his court to instigate the king to the invasion of

Hanover by the offer of the West India island of Tobago, then a desert. Frederick smiled at this extraordinary offer, and requested the duke to look out for some person fitter than he was to be governor of Barataria. He concluded by showing him his treaty with England; and Nivernois was thereupon recalled.

By this treaty the two powers mutually guaranteed the integrity of each other's dominions, and engaged not to suffer any foreign military force to enter Germany. To this end, Great Britain had, in the middle of the year 1755, concluded subsidiary treaties with Hesse Cassel and some of the minor princes of Germany. Frederick hoped, moreover, that the close connection of the British cabinet with Russia might keep the latter from joining his enemies; but in this expectation he was disappointed. Driven to the necessity of a decision by the English reprisals, the first formal conferences were held on the 22nd of September 1755 at Babiole, the country seat of the marquise de Pompadour; and the interest of Austria, supported by the mistress, count Stahremberg, and count de Bernis, outweighed that of Prussia. On the 1st of May 1756, a double treaty was concluded at Versailles between France and Austria, stipulating neutrality in the quarrel with England concerning America, and mutual guarantee and defence against hostile invasions.

This Catholic league against the Protestant caused great rejoicing in Paris, which was renewed when de la Galissonière foiled the English admiral

Byng on the 20th of May in the sea-fight off Minorca, and the duke of Richelieu, a few days afterwards, reduced that island. But this war produced an almost uninterrupted series of disasters and humiliations for France, augmented the burden of her debt, and urged on that memorable revolution, which brought inexpressible misery upon the Bourbons and upon the children of the empress queen herself, and at the end of which we have perhaps not yet arrived. Such was the tendency of that league of the great powers against the Prussian monarch; and its interest is heightened by the levity with which the marquise de Pompadour revealed her almost prophetic anticipations of the distant storm, when, in the intoxication of her momentary prosperity, she replied to all the apprehensions expressed relative to the future: "No matter! after us the deluge!"

When Maria Theresa was informed of the treaty concluded by Frederick with Great Britain, she would fain have made it appear that Austria had furnished no occasion for that measure. "It is not I," said she to Keith, the English ambassador, "who have abandoned the old system, but your court has at once abandoned the system and me, in concluding a treaty with the king of Prussia. The news of that treaty came upon me like a stroke of apoplexy."

It has been contended that the object of Austria was to excite Frederick by threats to commence hostilities, that Russia and France might be bound

to furnish the succours stipulated by treaty, and that Frederick might raise new enemies against himself among the German princes. If this really was the object of Austria, her proceedings and those of her allies were well calculated to accomplish it, though neither Russia nor France needed any fresh motive to a voluntary participation in the war against Frederick. The Russians were assembling a force of 100,000 men in Livonia, near the Prussian frontiers; while Austria was collecting an army of 80,000 in Bohemia and Moravia, strengthening the regiments, drawing a cordon round Silesia, and marking out camps close to the borders of the Prussian portion of that province. The ostentation with which these preparations were carried on not only bespoke a confidence in the success of matured plans, but also a wish to provoke Frederick to strike the first blow. The public papers detailed all the circumstances of the new armaments, and spoke of the loans to be contracted by Austria, if the savings of the past years of peace should prove inadequate to defray the expence. Kaunitz held frequent conferences with Neipperg, Browne, and Piccolomini, generals of high reputation, the second of whom was already appointed to command the troops in Bohemia and the third those in Moravia; while Nadasdy was charged to guard the pass of Jublunka.

It was but natural that Frederick should arm against preparations so openly made, and the object of which could not be doubted. But it is remark-

able that the reinforcement of the troops in Pomerania, which could only be intended for security against Russia, should be alleged by Austria as a pretext and justification of her armaments in Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia. Frederick indeed, required neither a long time, nor any extraordinary efforts, to get his troops in readiness. With wise foresight he had during the peace employed his surplus revenues in completing and improving his army; and could take the field at any moment with his highly disciplined and courageous troops.

England, meanwhile, recommended caution and forbearance from everything that could furnish Austria with a pretext for continuing her armaments. But Frederick had long been in possession of the secrets of his enemies; he knew what he had to fear, and that he had nothing to hope. Menzel, secretary to the cabinet of Dresden, had been bribed by Maltzahn, the Prussian envoy at the court of Saxony, and furnished him with copies of the notes and dispatches of the ambassadors, by means of a key made in Berlin to the chest in which those papers were deposited*. The secretary of the Austrian ambassador in Berlin also betrayed important documents; and Wolkow, the Russian councillor of state, faithfully reported to the grand-duke Peter all the

* Menzel afterwards went to Warsaw in the retinue of king Augustus III. When his treachery was discovered, he fled, was taken at Prague, and at first shut up at Brünn. He was removed in 1763 to the fortress of Königstein in Saxony, loaded with chains, but subsequently kept there in less severe confinement till his death in 1796, at the age of 70.

plans and resolutions of the privy council, which that enthusiastic admirer of Frederick's punctually transmitted to Berlin. The two imperial courts had firmly resolved, in the spring of 1756, to make a joint attack; but, as the court of Petersburg was in want of recruits, seamen and magazines, it had been agreed to wait till the following year.

When therefore Sir Andrew Mitchell, the ambassador sent on occasion of the new alliance by the court of St. James's to that of Berlin, had his first audience of Frederick on the 13th of May 1756, and, in confident reliance on his treaty with Russia, expressed his doubts of a continental war under the idea that Austria would not be a match for Russia, England, and Prussia, whom he conceived to be leagued together, the king, who was more intimately acquainted with the state of political affairs, might well ask and repeat the question: "Are you quite sure of the Russians?" Still he had no idea that a rupture was so near at hand. "Nothing will be done this year," he observed, "for that I can pledge my life; but I presume not to say what may take place in the next." Mitchell in his dispatch to his court, remarks: "From the doubts and mistrust which the king manifested in his repeated questions concerning our relations with Russia, I suspect that he has received accounts from that quarter which represent them as less favourable than I had reason to consider them when I left England."

It was not long before the British court perceived that it had nothing to hope from Russia, unless it

needed assistance against Frederick. On the 22nd of June, the king demanded of the ambassador an explicit declaration of what England meant to do for him. "Although," said he, "I have entered into no new treaty, on account of the new circumstances in which I am placed, I rely upon the good faith of the king of England and his efficient assistance, as nothing but my alliance with him has plunged me into this danger." On the 9th of July, the British ministers declared their readiness to conclude a treaty of mutual defence, without taking any steps in proof of that disposition; and they still doubted the speedy commencement of hostilities, of which Frederick felt increasing apprehensions. But as tidings of redoubled preparations for war on all sides reached Prussia, and the king began, towards the end of July, to think that it would be better to anticipate the designs of his enemies, the cautious British diplomatist prevailed upon him first to call upon the court of Vienna for some explanation of the motives for those preparations.

The answer of the court of Vienna was vague and evasive. From a copy of the despatch of the Saxon ambassador, which reached Frederick's hands, he learned that this answer had been so worded expressly to cause the king either to exhaust his resources in counter-armaments, or to strike the first blow, in which case alone Austria could reckon upon the unconditional participation of her allies. On the 26th of June, the empress herself read the reply with some embarrassment to Klinggräf, the

Prussian ambassador. It was to this effect, that, "in the present critical state of general affairs, her duty and the dignity of her crown required her to take measures conducive to her own safety and to that of her friends and allies, and not injurious to the interests of any person." The empress then motioned the ambassador to retire.

It was not likely that such an evasive answer as this would satisfy Frederick. On the 2d of August, he thus wrote to his ambassador in Vienna: "The reply of the court of Vienna is the less satisfactory, as I am in possession of the plans of attack of Russia and Austria, and have proofs that their execution has been deferred only because the Russians are not ready. I therefore deem myself justified in demanding from the empress a precise and explicit declaration that she has no intention to attack me either during the present or the next year. Whether she gives me this declaration in writing, or verbally in the presence of the ambassadors of England and France, is indifferent to me and depends upon her own pleasure; but I must know whether I am to expect war or peace. This the empress alone can decide. But if I receive an oracular, equivocating, evasive answer, the empress will have to reproach herself for all the consequences that it must draw upon her. I shall regard it as a confirmation of the dangerous schemes which Russia has planned against me, and I call Heaven to witness that I am innocent of the calamitous results of such conduct."

The answer from Vienna of the 20th of August argued at great length that Prussia had been the first to arm, and that the treaty of the 22d of May 1746 between Russia and Austria was not an offensive treaty, which sufficiently showed how unfounded were the apprehensions of Prussia; for the rest it referred to the first answer of the 26th of July. In this predicament, Frederick would fain have made an ally of Saxony; but all his endeavours to conciliate the king of Poland proved fruitless. Every thing foreboded speedy hostilities; and the king was convinced, as on the former occasion, that it would be most advantageous to him not to await but to anticipate the attack, and to surprise his enemies before they had completed their preparations.

Frederick, though a consummate judge of military merit, showed himself, through his whole life, but too ready to affront even his best officers on what might be deemed very slight occasions. Thus we have seen that, during the second Silesian war, the brave marshal Schwerin, who had rendered the most important services to his sovereign, as yet inexperienced in military operations, had fallen into disgrace, quitted the army, and retired to his estates. Accidentally meeting his brother at the Ridotto, soon after the conclusion of peace, the king enquired: "What is the marshal doing?"—"He is attending to the cultivation of his estates and the management of his affairs, your majesty; for the rest, he is quite well."—"When you write to him, salute him in

my name," rejoined Frederick. "He is a great man, but he is obstinate, and forgets that I am king." A year afterwards, he invited the marshal to Berlin. Schwerin went, and was in the king's ante-chamber by eight o'clock in the morning, just as his hussar was taking in coffee. He sent in his name. The king gave no answer, took up his flute, and walked to and fro for a quarter of an hour extemporising. Laying down the instrument, he buckled on his sword, and then ordered the marshal to be admitted. He motioned the attendant to retire. Of the conversation that ensued nothing is known, but that it was at first loud and warm, gradually subsiding till nothing could be heard in the ante-chamber. Schwerin was in high spirits when he left the king, who had given him an invitation to dinner.

Before the commencement of hostilities, Frederick was anxious to conciliate another of the tried and distinguished leaders of his troops. Zieten, the dashing commander of the hussars, had been for some time in disgrace with the king. He, with many other officers, had early conceived a jealousy of Winterfeld, because Frederick was thought to honour him with his more especial confidence, and frequently gave him commissions, to which his rank might be supposed not to entitle him. In 1745 he even preferred a formal complaint on this subject to the king, and accused Winterfeld of doing him ill offices with his majesty. "Be assured," replied Frederick, "that I have seen with

great pain from your letter that you entertain the idea that I have taken a dislike to you or am discontented with your services. I beg you to believe that neither the one nor the other is the case; that, on the contrary, I esteem you as a meritorious officer, and am perfectly satisfied with your valour, skill, and fidelity. But, if at times I give particular commissions to Winterfeld to do this or that, according to my instructions imparted to him in secrecy, I cannot suffer any one to interfere in such matters or to tie my hands, especially as in these cases there is nothing that trenches on your rank and seniority. I hope this will make you quite easy on the subject."

Zieten had in his regiment many volunteers of distinction, in favour of whom he was less strict in regard to discipline, and this drew upon him the severe displeasure of the king. In the year 1753, a great encampment was formed near Spandau. Zieten was there with his hussars. The regiment was advancing into the line, preceded by the kettle-drums which it had taken at Katholisch-Hennersdorf. "You are good for nothing," cried the king, "back, behind the front!" Afterwards, at the special review, he upbraided the whole regiment in the severest terms, and said that it was composed "of rude unplaned clowns." In this manner he continued to vent his displeasure. Zieten, who was standing before the front with drawn sabre, could no longer repress his boiling indignation. Turning towards the king, and thrusting his sabre, rattling

with the vehemence of the action, into its scabbard, he said in an emphatic tone: "If then, in the devil's name, we are good for nothing now, there was a time when we knew how to do our duty like brave men. At that time, when we were needed, we were good enough." "Yes," cried Frederick; quite as angrily, "then you were good, now you are good for nothing whatever." During the time the manœuvres lasted, Zieten never drew his sabre again, but remained in the camp as a mere spectator. —In a subsequent review, the king was dissatisfied with an attack of the same regiment, and said angrily to Zieten: "I will see no more of you and your regiment, get out of my sight!" The general gallopped off to his regiment, drew it out of the line, and without ceremony marched it off to its garrison.

Now, on the eve of war, Frederick felt that it would be politic to make up matters with the brave general of hussars. To this end, he directed Winterfeld to sound him as to what he should do in case of hostilities. "I shall solicit my dismission," replied Zieten, who was far more deeply afflicted by the recent loss of his wife and his only son, than by the king's displeasure; "not only because my health is impaired by heavy sorrows, but also because the king has conceived such an antipathy to my principles that I have no prospect of recovering his favour." Winterfeld strove to dissuade him from his intention, and intimated that ever so slight a step would be sufficient to make the king his friend for ever. This step the brave soldier declined to

take, conceiving that he had a right to demand justice instead of being called upon to make submissions: he therefore begged Winterfeld, not without irony, to use all his influence with the king to procure for him as speedily as possible the dismission which he desired.

Winterfeld reported the result to the king, and Frederick perceived that it was necessary for him to do something himself to conciliate the old general. Zieten was then residing in Berlin, and Frederick, confident of the success of his great superiority, paid him a personal visit. Zieten received the monarch with all due respect; the king strove to persuade his old comrade that the source of all preceding misunderstandings was a false notion which he had taken up, and offered him his hand in token of peace. Zieten struggled long with contending emotions, and would perhaps have found means to baffle the king, had not the latter known how to touch him in the tenderest point. "No," said he, with that expression of eye and tone which rendered him irresistible, "I am sure you will not refuse me; for a loyal general, like you, cannot desert his king and his country, when entering upon a dangerous war: both have placed their reliance upon you as the most honest of patriots." Zieten, deeply agitated, sunk at the king's feet. "I swear everlasting fidelity to your majesty," said he; "I swear to dedicate to you the last drop of blood in my veins." The history of the ensuing war will show how nobly the veteran performed this vow.

Frederick was still obliged to keep his design of opening the campaign at once a profound secret. It behoved him to clear himself from all possible suspicion in the minds of his own officers that he was striving to draw down the tempest. He summoned his principal generals to Potsdam, and there, in an audience which he gave to marshal Schwerin, and at which generals Winterfeld and Retzow were present, he communicated to those confidential servants the resolution which he had formed to frustrate the plan of his enemies before it could be put into execution; informing them that to this end the arrangements for marching were already made, and that there was now nothing to do but to devise the most efficient plan of operation.

Winterfeld, the king's faithful adviser, was the only one who had been previously initiated into his secret. Schwerin and Retzow were surprised, and the former seemed hurt that he had not been earlier acquainted with the king's intentions. It was perhaps the caution of age which led him to make some remonstrances; he thought it rash to hazard the welfare of the state, and recommended rather that every effort should be tried to divert the storm and to render it harmless. Retzow, an organ of the princes of the blood, who were extremely averse to the war, because they had not penetration enough to discover the necessity for it, coincided with the marshal on a different ground. He urged that it was dangerous to be the first to take up arms, as that would rouse anew the jealousy of most of the

European courts; while the cabinet of Vienna would not fail to attribute the war to the king's thirst of conquest, and to call upon the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia to maintain the peace of Germany: besides, Prussia was unable to cope with such superior powers. Winterfeld, on the contrary, defended the views of the king: he insisted that it was better suited to the position of the state to attack than to wait to be attacked; that it now seemed easy to transfer the theatre of the war to the Austrian territory, and that success was the more certain, inasmuch as Austria had not completed her armaments, and Russia had relapsed into her former inactivity. Thus did opinions differ, till the king produced the papers which he had contrived to obtain from the archives at Dresden and other sources. "From these you will see, gentlemen," said he, "the danger which impends over our heads; and you will do me the justice to admit that it is a duty which I owe to my own honour and to the security of my dominions, to attack the Saxons and Austrians, and to strangle their atrocious design in the birth, before they can receive assistance from their allies. Prepared as I am, I shall not fail to set my army in motion, as soon as the question—Which is the best way to open the campaign? can be decided."

Schwerin and Retzow could not make any further opposition, nay the former, recovering all his youthful ardour, exclaimed: "If we must have war, let us march to-morrow, take possession of Saxony, and

in that country abounding with corn, establish our magazines, to secure our future operations in Bohemia."

It must have been precisely about this time, that in an interview with Sir Andrew Mitchell, who, it may be presumed, was endeavouring to dissuade him from immediate hostilities, Frederick burst forth into these indignant exclamations: "What, sir!—What do you see in my face?—Was my nose made, do you think, to receive fillips?—By God, I will not put up with them!"—"Nobody," replied the ambassador, "will have the hardihood to insult your majesty; and even were this to be done, your character is too well known in Europe to leave the least doubt in what manner the affront would be resented. Indeed, among all your majesty's great qualities, I never heard mention made of patience and passive endurance."

The British government could not have selected a fitter representative at the court of Prussia than Sir Andrew Mitchell. Possessing solid, rather than showy qualities, integrity, and courage, he soon became a warm admirer of the king's, who honoured him with his friendship as long as he lived. He advocated Frederick's interests with the English court, accompanied him in all the campaigns of the eventful seven years' war, and showed amidst dangers the coolness of the philosopher, and in conversation the wit of the polished man of the world. One day, in the course of the war, the king said to him: "I flatter myself, Sir Andrew, that England

will this year make new exertions to support me in conquering an advantageous peace."—"Sire," replied the ambassador, "let us hope that, by the help of God, we shall force our enemies to this so desirable peace." "By the help of God?" asked the king; "I did not know that he was one of your allies."—"Yes, Sire, and the only one who costs us no subsidies."—"It seems to me then that he helps you according as you pay him."

Sir Andrew retained his post till his death in January 1771 in Berlin, [illegible] was buried in the church of the Dorotheenstadt, where [illegible] friend Burnett erected a monument to his memory.

END OF VOL. II.

LONDON: HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

00037861

Digitized with financial assistance from
Hermès India
a project facilitated by the Rotary Club of Bombay

on 10 August, 2018